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Government and Politics in the Akuapem State 1730-1850

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Government and Politics in the Akuapem State 1730–1850

Legon History Series

M A Kwamena-Poh

This is the first attempt to study the internal and external factors which formed the Akuapem state in the early 1700s and which affected its development over the following century. Akuapem emerged at a time of great upheaval, a period of mass-movements of peoples and the rise and fall of nation states on the Gold Coast. Eventually, these states became instrumental in the expansionist activities of the trading European nations – the Dutch, Danish and British. Akuapem, strategically situated on one of the main trading routes to the coast, was bound to become involved, not only in the commercial rivalry of the Europeans but also in the Asante drive to open direct contact with their forts.

The author:
Michael Kwamena-Poh was born at Mamfe, one of the principal towns of the Akuapem state, where he received his early education and also taught for a time before going on to gain a B.A. degree in history (Legon) in 1962 and a M.A. degree (London) in 1968. He has researched extensively on Akuapem and its history not only in the region itself but also in London and in Denmark, to which country he won a Danish Government Scholarship in 1968. Mr Kwamena-Poh is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Department of General and African Studies at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi.

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Government and Politics in the Akuapem State 1730–1850

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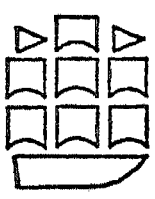
University of Science and Technology Kumasi



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Ghana University Press for extracts from *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835–1960* and extracts from *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante* by C. C. Reindorf; International African Institute and I. Wilks for extracts from 'The Growth of the Akwapem State' by I. Wilks from *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, International African Institute, London, 1964; Mrs Marion Johnson for passages from her translation of 'Historisches über Akwapem' edited by B. Struck from *Anthropos*, 1923; and the Rigsbibliotekarembedet, Copenhagen, for the photographs appearing on Plate 4.

Abbreviations

B.G.G.A.	*Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association*
I.A.I.	International African Institute, London
I.A.S.	Institute of African Studies, Legon
J.A.H.	*Journal of African History*
J.A.L.	*Journal of African Language*
J.I.A.I.	*Journal of the International African Institute*
J.W.A.L.	*Journal of West African Languages*
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London
T.H.S.G.	*Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*
T.H.S.G.C.T.	*Transactions of the Historical Society of the Gold Coast and Togoland*
V.G.K.	Vestindisk-guineisk Kompagnis
W.I.C.	West Indishe Compagnie
D.F.U.A.	Departementer fur udenrigske anliggender

In memory of my father, S. J. Kwamena-Poh

Preface

Little or no attempt has been made to write a comprehensive history of the people who now occupy the hill country of Akuapem in the Eastern Region of modern Ghana. There are, certainly, published and unpublished materials which deal with various aspects of Akuapem. There are the sociological works by D. Brokensha, *Social Change at Larteh* and E. O. Ayisi, *The Basis of Political Authority of the Akuapem Tribes*; and the geographical description by N. A. Opoku, *Population on the Akwapim Ridge*. The nearest approach to Akuapem history is the paper by I. Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', which he rightly sub-titled 'A Study in the Control of Evidence': an attempt to trace the motives, the results or effects of the setting up of political organisation in the Akuapem State. He has included very little information on the origins of the people, the influence of Akwamu rule, and perhaps none at all on the extent of European influence, particularly that of the Danes, in the government and politics of the state which emerged after 1730, and the effects of the missionary factor in the Akuapem state. Those who have read it would agree that it is inadequate as a comprehensive history of the area. Obviously, this was not the intention of the author.

Besides these, there are references to the history of Akuapem in a number of publications and books. These references are either short accounts of an aspect of Akuapem history to fill a necessary gap in the history of another more important state, as in W. E. F. Ward's *History of Ghana*, or a collection of Akuapem traditions, as may be found in Reindorf's and Samson's accounts. Thus the main objective of this work is to be a comprehensive history of the Akuapem State up to about 1850.

Though the history of Akuapem as a 'unitary state' starts from 1730, it is necessary to look back a little and to trace the origins of the various peoples of the present-day state. Thus there is an introductory section which traces the geographical and economic background, and, more important, the peopling of the Akuapem hills and the linguistic distributions. Knowledge of linguistic grouping is particularly important for an understanding of the political Divisions created after 1730. For unlike similar Divisions in any Akan state in Ghana today, those in Akuapem are based, to a large extent, on the linguistic grouping.

The main body of the work takes up the story from 1730, after briefly looking at the nature of Akwamu power and the events leading to its overthrow. The author attempts to look, objectively and comprehensively, at the setting up of the political system of the Akan type in the Akuapem hills, and particularly at how this was influenced by internal and external forces – Asante, European trading nations and, above all, the missionary factor.

Much use has been made of oral traditions in this work. These traditions have been used in two ways. Firstly, they are used to fill a gap where documentary evidence is lacking. Where this has been done, an attempt is made as much as possible to cross-check the traditions with archaeological or linguistic evidence, as in the case of the peopling of the hills; or the cross-check is made by the use of traditions from Akwamu, for example, for the reconstruction of the career of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman. Secondly, the traditions have been used to check evidence from contemporary documents. This is found necessary because the European trading nations had their individual biased opinions; and where there is no information from another European source, traditions, if available, are used as a check.

The oral sources in this work were collected for the most part by the author, who recorded a great proportion of interviews and discussions on tape. These traditions are stories of origins, wars, meanings and significance of appellations and oaths, and some songs and festivals. The recorded collections are available on five tapes of 5 in. by 600 in. each, in the Twi language. The people interviewed include chiefs, old men as well as young, with some knowledge of Akuapem traditional history. An attempt was made to get these people to represent views from the various sections of the state; thus the conversation with Aburihene represents the view of the Akwamu remnants on the ridge; with Late-Kubease-hene the view of the Late Guan group; with Abiriwhene, that of the Kyerepon Guan group; with Kurontihene of Akuapem, that of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool; with Okyeame Boafo Akufo, that of the Akyem immigrants at Akuropon, and with a number of people in Mamfe, that of the former Guan-speakers who are now Twi-speaking. There was one omission, that is, there are no traditions from the once great fetish houses on the ridge. The attempt made in this connection met with difficulties – the priest of the Kyenku shrine at Obosomase was not willing to help in this matter, at Mamfe there was no priest for the Topre fetish at the time. The gap, however, is partly filled by the Abiriwhene who now occupies the position which was once that of a fetish-priest, but has undergone change as a result of the Akan influence. No doubt fetish houses played an important role among the early Guan communities in the hills. The word 'fetish', in recent years, has been very much abused in Ghana, and most writers prefer to use the word 'shrine'. The author feels this is inadequate and does not carry the significance of the institution. The whole institution may be termed the 'fetish', while the 'shrine' is the object representing the invisible god whose rituals connected with the shrine are performed by the priest.

Some oral traditions were obtained from well-known published sources such as C. C. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*; B. S. Akuffo, *Ahemfi Adesua* and the collection of traditions in *Anthropos* edited by B. Struck, *Native Reports in Tshi* and E. Samson, *History of Akuapem and Akropong*; and the Institute of African Studies, Legon, Papers on collected Oral Traditions.

One peculiar thing about Akuapem traditions is that as a result of the high level of literacy – a direct result of the Basel missionary work – the majority of the published oral traditions are well known by most people in Akuapem today. And Professor Ivor Wilks is right in saying that:

> accounts of Akuapem origins . . . had been re-absorbed into local oral traditions; in present-day Akuapem there appears to be no surviving corpus of traditional historical lore that is independent of the influence of nineteenth century historiography.

Particular reference in this connection must be made to the oral evidence on Akuapem history published in *Native Reports in Tshi*. The oral traditions in this small book were collected and published in the second half of the nineteenth century as 'Papers in Tshi', by some African scholars educated by the Basel Missionary Society. They are David Asante, P. Keteku and Isaac Ado who were encouraged and guided in this task by the Rev J. G. Christaller. Between 1853 and 1863 they collected oral evidence of events which occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, from eye-witnesses and partakers. For instance, P. Keteku in 1853 wrote, from the evidence of Aduobe and Korantema of Akuropon, the story of the Asante invasion of Akuapem and Akyem in 1811. Another eye-witness, also called Aduobe of Asantema (Obosomase), narrated, in 1863, the story of the battle of Nsamankow (1824) and the part Akuapem played, recorded by Isaac Ado. In that same year, 1863, Isaac Ado collected from Sonko, 'a very old man at Akuropon', an account of the part played by the Okuapemhene Abuobi Atiemo in some of the battles the Danes and the Dutch fought at Accra during their disputes in the 1770s.

In 1913 these 'Papers in Tshi' were enlarged and published under a different title: *Twi Kasa mu Akuapem ne eho Aman Nsem anase Abasem: History of the Gold Coast or Native Reports in Tshi*. One may suspect that C. C. Reindorf found his source of Akuapem traditions in the 'Papers in Tshi'. These had been published in the 1860s and were sold in large numbers in the nineteenth century before a decision was made to enlarge and publish them. The published work came out in May 1913 as the *History of the Gold Coast or Native Reports in Tshi*. Reindorf himself says he began the collection of traditions in 1864, by which time the Akuapem scholars had made a substantial collection of the traditions of Akuapem.

Despite this, there is still need for field work. People have to be asked questions about which the traditions are sometimes silent, or confuse the situation. For instance, as a result of conversations with some traditionalists, the author is able to suggest a reconstruction of the list of occupants of the Okuapemhene's stool.

Comprehensive oral traditions of Akuapem, Akwamu and Akyem relations based on those collected by the author and the published sources have been recorded in Appendix I of this work.[1]

Extensive use has been made of documentary evidence from contemporary writers and published and unpublished evidence by later writers. The first of the contemporary material includes letters and despatches from the European trading companies on the Gold Coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Danish sources in the period 1700 to 1850 were collected from Rigsarkivet (the Danish National Archives), Copenhagen, during the summer of 1966 and a follow up was made in the summer of 1968. A few of the English sources used were also collected during the same period from the Public Record Office and the British Museum in London. The Dutch sources, on the other hand, were obtained from the Furley Collection of Dutch records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of which have been translated, arranged and catalogued in the Africana Section of the Balme Library, Legon, by Mr E. F. Collins of the Philosophy Department of the University of Ghana. Mr J. T. Furley served in the Colonial Service in the Gold Coast from 1902–1923. In his last years (1917 to

1 Note the questionnaire on p. 154–5 was only used as a guide and was not submitted in the form of questions to informants.

1923) he was Secretary for Native Affairs. He retired in 1924 and devoted his time to the collection of archival materials dating from the fifteenth century relating to the history of the Gold Coast, available in Portugal, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Denmark. At the end of the second world war, he presented the valuable materials – notes, photostats and day books – to the Balme Library University of Ghana, where they are known as The Furley Collection.

The second of the contemporary sources consists of printed materials from travellers and writers such as Roemer, Isert and Meredith. A third group of contemporary sources consists of evidence quoted in such secondary sources as Metcalfe, *Documents on Ghana History*. The author also made use of materials from unpublished theses.

The spelling of names of places and people follows as much as possible the usage in the locality, and it may differ from that of recent writers. Except where they are in quotation from other writers, the author has consistently written such names as Larteh, Akwapim, Ashanti, Akropong as *Late*, *Akuapem*, *Asante* and *Akuropon*.

This work is based on a thesis submitted for a Master's degree in History at the University of London in 1968. A number of problems faced the author when he began preparing the thesis at the end of 1965. The first was the choice of an appropriate title for the history of Akuapem. This was resolved after a discussion with Professor I. Wilks, formerly of the Institute of African Studies, Legon, who, at the same time, offered to supervise the author. The main outline of the work, with a few changes later on, was planned with his approval, but the author 'lost' his supervisor just when he began the draft of the thesis which was, in effect, written without any supervision. (Professor Wilks left Ghana to take up an appointment in the United States of America.) Many thanks, however, go to Professor Wilks for guidance and encouragement at the planning stages.

The next problem involved the means of obtaining materials for the work, most of which had to be collected from places not within immediate reach. The author is thus grateful to the University of Science and Technology which offered him a study-leave of ten weeks in the summer of 1966 and eight months in 1968 to enable him to proceed to the United Kingdom and Denmark to make use of relevant materials from contemporary sources in the Public Record Office and the Rigsarkivet respectively. The same University also made available a handsome grant for the collection of oral traditions by the author in Akuapem, Akyem Abuakwa and Akwamu. The Institute of African Studies, Legon, also gave some assistance in this connection, and the author is very grateful to these two institutions.

The author is particularly grateful to the following individuals for their assistance in various ways: Professor Glamann of the University of Copenhagen who gave permission for two students, Miss Lise M. Johannesen (now Mrs Blügthen) and Mr Ole Justesen, who, in 1966, were working on Danish documents relating to some aspects of Ghana history, to help the author in the selection of relevant materials from the Danish archives. Professor G. Nørregaard of the Department of History, University of Aarhus, Denmark, Mr H. Jeppesen of the Department of Geography, University of Copenhagen, Mr Richs Meyer-Heiselberg of the Open Air Museum, Copenhagen, and Miss E. Toft, formerly of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, also contributed in various ways to make the trip to Denmark a useful enterprise.

The following individuals in Ghana and England also deserve the author's

sincere gratitude. Mr Richard Greenfield of the Institute of African Studies, Legon, and Dr R. H. K. Darkwa of the Department of History, Legon, and Mr D. H. Jones of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who read through the draft and made a number of useful suggestions and constructive criticisms. In this connection Mrs Marion Johnson, formerly of the Institute of African Studies and now at the Centre of West African Studies, Birmingham University, deserves special mention. She took a great interest in the work and voluntarily acted virtually as the supervisor of the author during the final stages of the work. The author is very grateful to her for this gesture.

There are also a number of people who were interviewed and kindly narrated to the author the traditions of Akuapem and its relations with Akwamu and Akyem. To those whose names cannot be listed here (see Appendix I) the author is also very grateful. Finally, those who typed the work must also be mentioned, Mr Osafo-Adu of the Registry, University of Science and Technology, who made the first draft, and Mrs C. Walker, London, who formed the thesis in its final shape for submission to the University of London.

More important, it was due to the encouragement and valuable advice of Mr G. E. Metcalfe whose knowledge of British connections with the Gold Coast in the nineteenth century is unrivalled, and here again that of Professor Ivor Wilks, well-known for his contribution on many aspects of Ghana history, that this publication came out in its present form. Also the author is thankful to the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, U.S.T., Dr N. A. Kotei; his colleagues J. Adomako-Sarfo and S. A. Darko of the Geography section of the Department for their advice and permission to use the facilities of the Geography section; and to Mr J. B. K. Boateng, the technician, who helped draft most of the maps for this work. The author also owes a special debt of gratitude to Mr Kwasi Asare of Mamfe, now working with London Transport, England, for his views which gave the author further insight into the interpretation of Akuapem tradition.

Finally, many thanks go to the Arkivar and the staff of the Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, the Librarian and the staff of the Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, the Keeper and the staff of the Public Record Office and the British Museum, the Archivist and the staff of the Ghana National Archives, Accra, and to the British Council for their financial support in London while revising the thesis for publication in the summer of 1970.

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The Land and its People

In the records of the eighteenth century European trading companies, the area under study was known as the 'Hill Country' and its people the 'Hill People',[1] deservedly so, because Okuapemman[2] or the Akuapem State, is a small mountainous country lying north-north-west of Accra, within the Eastern Regional Administrative area of modern Ghana. The present area administered by the Akuapem local council covers just over 330 square miles; however, the traditional Akuapem State which emerged from Akwamu suzerainty in the 1730s covered a slightly larger area as it included Nsawam to the south west, now separated for administrative convenience.[3]

The main towns of Akuapem are picturesquely strewn among the hills which form one of the healthiest spots in the inland territories. The height of land nowhere reaches 2000 feet, the highest point being about 1600 feet.[4] These hills are part of what geographers describe as the Akwapim Togo ranges,[5] running from Pokoasi, a few miles north of Accra, in a north-easterly direction to the modern Togo boundary in the region of Dutukpene and Kadjebi in the Krachi district. The Akuapem ridge is separated from that of Togo by a gap formed by the Volta gorge.

Two distinct ridges make up the section of the scarp in Akuapem. On the main ridge, the Bewasebepow, rising about sixteen miles from the coast, can be found fifteen out of the eighteen original towns.[6] On the parallel ridge, Akonnobepow, are the twin towns of Late-Ahenease and Late-Kubease, in the valley at the

1 Before 1780 Danish records refer to the Akuapem as 'Bjergnegrene'; the English did not use the name 'Aquapim' until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Dutch records, on the other hand, referred to the region as 'Aquapim' much earlier, in the early 1770s.

2 Okuapemman is a compound word which breaks up into *Okuapem* ('A' in Akuapem changing into 'O' because of the suffix) '*man*' meaning state.

3 *Report by the Select Committee on Local Government* (colony) 1950, pp. 21–2 and 26. See maps of the Akuapem State on pp. 162–4

4 E. A. Boateng, *A Geography of Ghana*, Kambridge 1960, p. 157

5 *Ibid.* See also W. J. Varley and H. P. White, *The Geography of Ghana*, London 1958, p. 55

6 The traditional number of Akuapem towns is known to be seventeen (*Amantow dunson* or seventeen city states). The fifteen towns are Berekuso, Aburi (including Atwemsin), Ahwerease, Obosomase, Tutiu Mampon, Abotakyi, Amanokrom, Mamfe, Akuropon, Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom, and Apirede. See H. Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*, London 1812, p. 226.

northern edge of which is the seventeenth town, Abonse. Aseseeso, a breakaway town from Abonse,[1] also lies in a valley between the latter and Apirede.

Akuapem was blessed with good soil and a healthy climate. The soil has lost much of the wealth it possessed as a result of extensive clearance in the closing decades of the nineteenth century for the cultivation of cocoa.[2] Paul Erdmann Isert, an eighteenth century Danish traveller, whose interest in plant life in Guinea was uppermost in his mind, had this to say about the soil in comparison with that of the coast '. . . no longer sandy but either clayey or loose as that of our garden soil'.[3] Isert's observation of the rock formation, made during his visit to Akuapem in 1786, coincides with that of modern geographers and geologists:

> The rocks consist of stones detached by granite and gneiss of different types, some quartz, of black slate; I could not discover limestone. The soil is varied; it is almost everywhere clayey soil of every colour, or black, like that of our gardens. One never sees sand.[4]

Perhaps the most pleasant thing one can still enjoy in Akuapem today is its cool and healthy climate. It was in part this pleasant climate and the attractive scenery afforded by the elevation of the land that led to the development of Akuapem as the home of the Basel Missionary activities. Once again Isert's description of the climate in the eighteenth century will be appropriate:

> In general the climate appears more healthy than on the coast. . . . In general it is colder here than on the coast; which my thermometer soon indicated to me; for I was scarcely on the mountain when it came down by 5°C. There is little wind, however, the air is not impure. Europeans at the coast ought to establish a hospital here and bring all newly arrived Europeans up here; they would then become better and more easily used to the climate than by living in dismal and small rooms in forts in their attempts to escape the rays of the burning sun reflected from the naked coast.[5]

As a result of these favourable climatic conditions Akuapem once possessed a very thick and impenetrable forest of huge trees and thick undergrowth.[6] But much, if not all, has now been cleared for cultivation. In fact Akuapem was the first district in modern Ghana to take seriously to the planting of cocoa. In doing this the Guan communities were pursuing their traditional occupation as farmers. Farming has, from time immemorial, been their leading occupation.[7] Isert found

1 E. Ampene, *The Social Organisation of a Guan Community*, unpublished manuscript, 1958

2 Boateng, p. 159

3 I. Raunkiaer (ed) 1, *Laegen Paul Iserts Breve fra Dansk Guinea 1783–87*, Copenhagen 1917, p. 152

4 *Ibid.*, p. 157 5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 155–6. Isert gives the measurement of a tree of 'prodigious hugeness' as 45 Danish feet in circumference and 14 Danish feet in diameter.

7 Traditions of Mamfe recorded from Adow Adam, a descendant of Okyeame Awereben of Mamfe, see C. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, Basel 1895, p. 88; also Meredith, p. 227.

the Akuapem to be producers of maize, yam, plantain and banana. Other activities he mentioned besides farming were hunting and palm wine tapping. He remarked also that 'they are well versed in the use of fire-arms, several are good at hunting, which is very necessary since they lack fish'.[1]

In the nineteenth century, production of palm oil became an important activity in Akuapem. By the end of the century and the beginning of the present century when palm oil was the leading export of Ghana, this region and the Krobo area formed an important centre of production,[2] and palm oil still features prominently as an item in the local diet. However, with the introduction of cocoa towards the end of the century, the field of activity was further widened; and the Akuapem people began to extend their activities beyond the ridge to the lowlands lying west.[3] Truly, the Akuapem have been described as 'eager and indefatigable farmers'.[4] This led to their 'bloodless conquest of Akyem Abuakwa' which has been described by Margaret Field as 'the most impressive social spectacle for the last fifty years, but not being amenable to study by the intensive method has been entirely overlooked by orthodox anthropologists'.[5]

It is interesting to note that despite this process of diffusion over a wider area, the density of population of the Akuapem state is one of the highest in the country, about 200 per square mile.[6] It is also known that a great number of Akuapem people live away from home.[7] The total population of Akuapem in 1960 was 78,750.[8] Though it is remarkably homogeneous – the majority being Akuapem – there are linguistic and ethnic divisions in the state.[9] In 1960 there were 33,190 Akuapem Twi speakers,[10] 14,350 Kyerepon and 7480 Late Guan speakers. Thus there were 55,050 'indigenous' Akuapem, and 23,700 'strangers'. These included about 9490 non-Akuapem or other Akan speakers; some non-Akan speaking Ghanaians, and about 1150 non-Akuapem Guan speakers. There were, however, a few true 'strangers', that is non-Ghanaians of Hausa (470), Yoruba (450), Ibo (30), Gurma (730), Kotokoli (260) and Songhai (430) origin.[11]

We also find out from the 1960 Census of Ghana that nearly 144,790 people describe themselves as Akuapem, the Guan speakers excluded; and we know from above that of this figure only 33,190 live in the Akuapem State. Thus more

1 Raunkiaer, pp. 157–8

2 C.3687, Further Correspondence regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, August 1882, p. 27

3 See P. Hill.

4 M. J. Field, *Search for Security, An Ethno-psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana*, London 1960, p. 24

5 *Ibid.*, p. 24 n. 6 Boateng, p. 160

7 This is confirmed by the figures of the 1960 Census of Ghana, see immediately below.

8 1960 Census of Ghana Special Report 'E'

9 See pp. 8–9 ff. for details of the linguistic and ethnic divisions in the Akuapem State.

10 Akuapem-Twi is one of the Akan dialects spoken in the Akuapem hills today. It was the first of the Akan dialects to be reduced to writing in the early part of the nineteenth century by the Basel Mission Society. For a brief account of the development of Akuapem-Twi see pp. 8–10 below and Appendix I.

11 1960 Census of Ghana Special Report 'E', pp. 288–90, Table S1

than 111,560 Akuapem-Twi speaking people live away from their homeland. The same can be said of the Kyerepon and Late Guan speaking people. There are in all 33,780 Kyerepon speakers, though not all may be Akuapem-Kyerepon.[1] Of this number 14,380 live in the Akuapem hills and more of them live outside the State. The Late people are no exception to the wide dispersion of the Akuapem people away from home. There are 22,330 Late people in Ghana and only 7480 live in Late.[2]

This episode – the migration of the Akuapem to the neighbouring territories for farming lands – has been described in detail by Polly Hill and Marion Johnson.[3] As a result of this migration many large villages were founded. The towns of Adawso, Mangoase, Pakro, Nsawam and Suhum are standing memorials to the farming activities of the Akuapem people. These were huge cocoa centres. They were really enormous 'villages' built by these migrant Akuapem who considered themselves merely as campers. Suhum, for example, never had a chief, only an *Odekro*,[4] and the Suhum people though living in Akyem Abuakwaland had, and have, their 'hometowns' and kinship ties in Akuapem, where large and impressive buildings are to be found as a reflection of the wealth which the inhabitants have amassed from the cocoa industry.[5]

Thus agriculture was and still is the most important occupation of the Akuapem people, and this has been aided by the fertile soil and favourable climate. The production of the main foodstuffs of the people – maize, banana, yam and plantain – may have attracted the Akwamu to the area as a source of their food supplies.[6] The hill farmers must have produced abundant corn to have been suppliers not only to their suzerain power, Akwamu, but also to Accra and nearby coastal trading centres, as early as the 1720s and 1730s. Evidence from Danish sources mentions an Aburi farmer and his wife selling corn to the Danish fort in 1730,[7] and during the war of 1729–30 in which Akwamu power was overthrown, one Tette, a caboceer of Osu, was instructed by the Danes that 'when he got to the hills he should send them corn to the fortress at the company's expense'. He promised to do this.[8]

The interest of the ancestors of the modern Akuapem people in the soil may have been the underlying reason why trade and commerce never became an important economic activity in the hills. Unlike their neighbours, the Akyem and

1 See below p. 12 (note) for other groups of (Kyerepon) Guan speaking people in Ghana.

2 1960 Census of Ghana Special Report 'E', Table S1

3 M. Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', *B.G.G.A.*, Vol. 8, 2, July 1964

4 An *odekro* is usually a headman of a village responsible to a chief of the principal town in the locality.

5 In point of fact, Suhum and towns of its type, such as Dodowa, Adawso, and Mangoase, grew to be more than farming villages; they became market centres and had large non-Akuapem populations. However, the *Odekro* stool remained and still is of Akuapem origin.

6 I. Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire, 1640–1710', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, 1957, p. 105

7 V.G.K., report of Waerroe to Directors, 16 May 1730. Earlier in 1726, a Danish report mentions Berekuso as a corn-producing area. See V. G. K. Suhm *et al.* to Directors, 9 August 1726; also Meredith, p. 227

8 Waerroe to Directors, 16 May 1730

the Akwamu, the Akuapem have never been very interested in trade and commerce. The reason may be that the hills lack minerals, particularly gold which was one of the main trade commodities sold to European mercantile companies on the coast. This seems to be one of the reasons why the early Akuapem communities did not find it necessary to develop political unity with a central authority to control the outflow of this vital commodity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here the history of Akwamu and Asante points to the fact that the necessity to control trade with the European trading nations on the coast was an important factor which led to the creation of the politico-military organisation of these states.

This does not mean that the Akuapem people had no trading activities at all. The position was that they were predominantly farmers and trade and commerce to them was a subordinate activity. There is evidence from an archaeological source to show that some trade did take place with their immediate neighbours and with the European trading nations at the coast. Excavation at Dawu[1] shows that there was a series of glass beads and tobacco pipes of foreign origin which point to a trend towards external trade, probably with the European forts on the coast. An important trade path from Accra is known to have passed through Akuapem to Akyem and beyond,[2] and I. Wilks points out that the control of this path was an important element in the Akwamu bid to bring the hill country within the periphery of its empire in the mid-seventeenth century.[3] A century later, that is in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Asante were to do the same; an Asante resident was stationed at Mamfe to collect tolls from merchants passing through to the coast.[4] There was, apart from the trade with the European nations on the coast, a short-distance trade link between the Akuapem and the Shai hills. Though the Akuapem people did produce their own pottery,[5] they obtained further supplies from Shai towns such as Adwuku, a fortified hill-top village, and to the Shai people who live in this relatively less fertile area, the Akuapem people sold their food produce.[6]

There is no doubt, however, that the hill people were not great traders; and that their country was used as a trade path by people from such commercially minded states as Akyem and Asante. There is no mention in European records of the time of the Akuapem area in the way Akyem, Asante or Akwamu are mentioned. For instance, in the early eighteenth century an English factor describing the inland states, had this to say about Akyem:

> Akim is a rich country [which] lyes mostly on the backside of the Quamboe [Akwamu] and Unguineas [Agona] and are hindered by them from making trade they would do.[7]

1 C. T. Shaw, *Excavation at Dawu*, Report on an excavation in a mound at Dawu, Akuapem, Ghana 1961

2 Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', p. 10

3 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', pp. 104–5

4 Isert, *Iserts Breve*, p. 153 5 Shaw, p. 87

6 P. Ozanne, 'Adwuku, Fortified Hill-Top Village in Shai', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, 7, January 1965, p. 3

7 T.70/175, Dalby Thomas, Cape Coast to the Royal Africa Company, London, 26 November 1709

Nor were the Akuapem people found, in the period before 1730, to be interfering in trade from the inland territories as the Akwamu and the Fante were doing – though they were to resort to this action later in the eighteenth century. The same English source points this out clearly:

> the water side country people are desirous to have the traders give their gold, teeth and slaves to bring us to sell and they give the upland people what they please for it and the traders are not willing and often causes contests and disappointment in trade.[1]

The result of this ineptitude in trade and commerce was that the Akuapem state was, by 1730, economically very poor indeed. Nor did the finances of the state improve during the period 1730 to 1800. Thereafter and up to the end of the nineteenth century when their interest in farming found a new outlet (first in palm oil production and, more important, in cocoa) it became a prosperous economic activity, and the people of the hills became wealthy.

The sources of income for the state, when it emerged from the Akwamu suzerainty in the 1730s, were very limited indeed. The Akuapem people were known to have had 'no gold dust, money or even cloth to wear'; and were thus unable to pay for the services of the Akyem warlords who had aided them in overthrowing their suzerain power, Akwamu.[2] The state had not developed, nor did it possess, the elaborate system of Akwamu or Asante for collecting custom 'duties' from traders passing through the territory.[3] Nor did it ever have possession of any of the 'Notes' of the European forts on the coast from which it could obtain annual rent due, such as Akwamu, Akyem and Asante successively had over the Accra forts.[4]

Despite the absence of these systems, the central authority of the Akuapem state did possess some means of obtaining revenue. After all, when it came under Asante imperial rule in the second half of the eighteenth century up to 1826 it did pay annual tribute to Asante.[5]

It is, however, not possible to estimate how much revenue the state had in a year; such an attempt is impossible because the incomes of the states on the Gold Coast[6] in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not based on gold pay-

1 *Ibid.*

2 Reindorf, p. 89

3 The people of Accra had controlled the market at Late where they collected duties from traders passing through from the interior to Accra. The control of this market, as will be discussed later, fell into the hands of the Akwamu between 1646 and 1681. See Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 104. Isert also reported in 1786 that there was an Asante resident at Mamfe who collected the custom 'duties' from traders to and from Accra. See Raunkiaer, p. 153.

4 The 'Notes' were written agreements made between the chiefs of the coastal towns on the Gold Coast and the European trading company officials on the lands leased by the former for the building of the European trading forts along the coast. The 'Notes' on the Accra forts were known to have fallen into the hands of the Akwamu in 1681, who in turn lost them to the Akyem in 1730; the Asante in the reign of Opoku Ware took them from the Akyem in 1742. See Uldall Sam. Fol. 130, Aarestrup's memo on the Dutch-Danish Dispute of 1775–77; also W. E. F. Ward, *A History of Ghana*, London 1958, pp. 88–98 and 114.

5 An account of some of the sources of Akuapem revenue will be given in Chapter 3; the Asante domination of Akuapem is discussed in Chapter 4.

6 In this work the Gold Coast is the area known as the *Gold Coast Colony* during the period of British Colonial administration up to 1957.

ments alone, but in addition, slaves, cowries and even firewood were included.[1] Furthermore, where these could be calculated and their equivalents assessed, their value did not remain stable throughout the period.[2] However, it can be said that incomes due to Akuapem were not as considerable as those of such states as Asante or Akyem, which possessed mines within their boundaries, apart from their European sources. Akuapem thus largely remained a relatively poor state until the coming of palm oil, and, more important, cocoa.

In summing up this section, geographically the mountainous nature of the country provided a pleasant climate and attractive scenery which had other effects on Akuapem. It was in part the climate which attracted the Basel missionaries into the hills, and by the beginning of the present century, as a result of their work, many of the Akuapem towns had developed not only as centres of education, but also as popular 'hill stations'.[3] The botanical gardens at Aburi, for instance, attract a large number of holiday makers. E. A. Boateng remarks that 'a striking feature of the distribution of [these] settlements in the region is that in Akuapem the larger settlements lie mostly on the narrow mountain ridge', unlike the towns in the Togo section of the ridge which are found in valleys.[4] As far back as 1812, Meredith, quoting the Danish governor, Schiønning, had this to say on this natural beauty of Akuapem:

> I have been almost over the whole country, and as to beauty of prospect, pleasing variety, and local advantages, I never saw anything equal; nor can I compare any part of the world where I have been, to it: in short, you may compare it to what poets describe when they depict nature in all her elegance.[5]

On the other hand the geographical features, in the past, had adverse effects on the history of Akuapem. The traditions indicate that the earlier towns were in the valleys,[6] and this had an important effect, as the various communities were not easily able to communicate with one another. Like the Greeks, the most serious handicap from which the ancestors of the Akuapem people suffered was the difficulty of internal communications, which was partly the cause of their major political failure – their incapacity to form a political union. Of course, another reason can be found for this lack of unity in their economic situation. A predominantly farming population is not conducive to any well-organised political system. History reveals that farming communities, with the exception of a few, particularly Sparta and Rome, have had no political ambitions and have usually been dominated by immigrants well versed in institutions of political authority. Max Weber in his general theory of political expansion, has this to say:

1 In 1835 when the Danish governor Mørck fined certain Akuapem chiefs the sum of 1500 heads of cowries, the amount was 'paid chiefly with firewood to prepare lime for the repairing of the Castle'. See Reindorf, p. 312.

2 See M. Johnson, 'The Ounce in Eighteenth-Century West African Trade', *J.A.H.*, Vol. VII, 2, 1966, pp. 197–214. 3 Boateng, pp. 161–2

4 *Ibid.*, p. 161 5 Meredith, pp. 226–7

6 Mamfe tradition says that their ancestors first settled in the valley lying west of the present-day Obosomase; Abiriwhene Nana Otutu Bagyire IV traces the movement of most of the Kyerepon Guan people from the foot of the hill near the same place as the Mamfe people. See Appendix I.

> One might be inclined to believe that the formation as well as the expansion of Great Power Structures is always and primarily determined economically. The assumption that trade, especially if it is intensive, and if it already exists in an area, is the normal pre-requisite and the reason for its political unification might be readily generalised. In individual cases this assumption does actually hold.[1]

Secondly, lack of minerals, particularly gold in an age when the control of gold and the slave trade was an important economic factor, did not make the Akuapem communities a trading class. This lack of minerals created no incentive for the establishment of a political unity to control the outflow of this commodity so vital in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

With the geographical factors to control their economic life, the Akuapem state largely remained economically unviable until the coming of cocoa.

The inhabitants of Akuapem today may be divided into two main linguistic and ethnic groups. The first group is made up of the Guan-speaking communities whose ownership of land is backed by their traditions of origin; the second is the Twi-speaking communities.

The Guan-speaking communities are sub-divided into the Kyerepon Guan and the Late Guan.[2] The Kyerepon Guan group who form the Nifa (right wing) division of modern Akuapem State[3] occupy the seven towns of the northern end: Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom (the capital of the division), Apirede, Aseseese and Abonse. The twin towns of Late-Ahenease (the capital of the Benkum (left wing) division) and Late-Kubease form the Late Guan group. The Twi-speaking group who are of Akan origin can also be divided into two. The first are Akwamu immigrants who now make up the Adonten (Centre) division of the state. They occupy the following towns: Aburi – the principal town of the division – Berekuso and Ahwerease.[4] However, there is evidence to believe that people of Akwamu origin were scattered throughout the other towns and intermingled with the Guan-speaking group.[5] The second section of the Twi-speaking group are the people of Akyem Abuakwa origin now in Akuropon, the seat of the paramount stool, and Amanokrom, the lone town forming the Gyaase (Administrative) division.

Closely related to the Guan communities as an ethnic group, but now linguistically different, are the present-day Twi-speakers of the remaining towns of the Benkum division – Mamfe, Abotakyi, Mampon, Tutu and Obosomase.

1 Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, translated, edited and with an introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York 1958, p. 162

2 Brokensha simply calls them Kyerepon and Guan. See Hill, p. 29. The author prefers Wilks's terminology Kyerepon Guan and Late Guan, since linguistically they all speak dialects of the same language. See I. Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State: A Study in the Control of Evidence', *Historian in Tropical Africa*, London 1964, pp. 390–411.

3 See Appendix III for a table showing the structure of political divisions in the Akuapem State.

4 In Aburi, however, it is only the ruling family which is of Akwamu origin. The rest of the people are of Guan origin, and they own most of the land. In Berekuso, the population is very mixed.

5 The evidence available will be discussed towards the end of Chapter 1.

The people of these towns are believed to have once been Guan-speaking as their Late and Kyerepon neighbours; the only remaining links are the system of inheritance and common festivals.

As far back as 1875 J. G. Christaller had written that the people of these towns who are of Guan descent 'have since about 1750 entirely changed their own language with Akan'.[1] Ivor Wilks writes:

> Abotakyi, Mamfe, Mampong, Obosomase and Tutu, within the Benkum division, are now Twi-speaking, but it would seem that they changed from Guan to Twi only in the later eighteenth century.[2]

At a later stage in his brief article on Akuapem he defends this statement:

> The growth of immigrant communities is perhaps also reflected in the linguistic situation in Akuapem. A rapid lexicostatistical count of various Akwapim dialects shows a clustering in cognation ("shared basic vocabulary") of around ninety per cent; this would indicate three or four divergent centuries, and suggests strongly that it was the arrival of the Twi-speaking settlers in the early seventeenth century that broke the linguistic unity of the earlier population and so launched the various Guan dialects of Akwapim on their separate histories.[3]

Wilks supports his statement with Guan word-lists supplied by D. Brokensha, now of the University of California, U.S.A., and C. Ansre of the Institute of African Studies, Legon.[4]

E. O. Ayisi followed in 1965 to support this linguistic change. He produced oral tradition as evidence of this: according to the tradition there was an attempt to kill the Omanhene[5] of Akuapem by some Guan chiefs. The ringleaders were executed. The tribes who were involved in this attempt were forced to give up speaking their mother tongue. Ayisi, however, admits at the end of the narrative that he had no clue as to the nature of the mother tongue of those tribes.[6]

If we are to accept that the change was imposed by force, there is perhaps a better oral source as evidence for this linguistic change. This is contained in 'Historical Material about Akwapem' in *Anthropos*, 1923. According to the editor, the manuscript in which this tradition is contained, is 'in somewhat peculiar German', and was found among the papers of the missionary Bohner, who served in the Gold Coast in the 1880s. It was published by Dr Struck who was of the opinion that the German was probably that of an African author, and put forward the suggestion that this might have been the Reverend David Asante. The tradition says at one stage that:

1 J. G. Christaller, *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language called Tshi* (Chwee, Twi), Basel 1875, p. xii

2 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', 1964, p. 391

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 401–2 4 *Ibid.*

5 *Omanhene* is a Twi word meaning Paramount chief made up of two words: *Ohene* = chief; *Oman;* state; that is, the chief of the whole state.

6 E. O. Ayisi, *The Basis of Political Authority of the Akuapem Tribes*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1965, pp. 158–9

> at the time when the Akwamu lived here, the Akuapems who first grew up here spoke the Guan language, which Late and Kyerepon people still speak today. And if they could not settle a dispute in their town, they brought it to the king [of Akwamu]; but as the king did not understand Guan, a law case was a difficult thing. So they decided to give up their language; and those who did not want to give it up, learned Twi as well; and when they appeared before the court of law, it did not fatigue them.[1]

Akwamu[2] traditions confirm this and add that an accused person was usually detained at the Akwamu court and forced to learn Twi up to the standard he would be able to use to defend himself.[2]

There is no doubt that a linguistic change had taken place in Akuapem, and one may accept Christaller's statement already outlined that 'in the course of time they (the Guan dialects) were, in most places superseded by Tshi'. There is still, in the present-day Akuapem, a gradual drift from Guan dialect to Twi, as the latter has assumed the characteristic of a 'prestige language'. The Kyerepon dialect, for example, has been invaded by a number of Twi words unlike the still 'compact' Late Guan dialect.

However, the explanation seems too simplified; the situation was more complex. The peculiar situation that existed in the Benkum division of Akuapem precipitated and made possible the linguistic change. It appears, again from Akuapem traditions, that some of the towns involved in this linguistic change were not composed wholly of Guan-speaking people. They were made up of a conglomeration of various groups of people in which both Guan-speakers, as the predominant group, and Twi-speakers were involved.

The tradition of the origin of the people of Mamfe, for instance, says that five leaders were involved in the settlement which grew up to become Mamfe; that these came from different parts of Ghana and nearby countries to settle on the banks of the Damuruku stream near the present-day Obosomase; that the leaders involved were Kwadwo Toku from Adanse, Abew or Abey from Grand Popo, Akote from Gyaman, Agyako from Wasa and Asamon from Sehwi.[3] Another town in the Benkum division is also known for its variety. Some of the people of Mampon are known to have been refugees from the Shai state; this is evident in the Guan version of the name of the town *Akpre* which means 'those who have been given asylum'.[4] These came to live among the Guan-speaking group, and the mixture became more complex with the infiltration of a Twi-speaking group. Perhaps the Mampon stool has connections with the Akwamu, as the Akwamu names of Otu and Sasraku are perpetuated in the chief-list of that town.

Perhaps it is this conglomeration of Guan-speaking, Twi-speaking and Ga-Adangbe (Shai) which precipitated the 'Akanisation' of the peoples of the Benkum division. Their nearness to the centre of Akwamu power also made this

1 B. Struck (ed.), 'Historisches über Akwapem', *Anthropos*, 1923. Translated from German for the author by Marion Johnson formerly of the Institute of African Studies, Legon. The author is very grateful to her for this service.

2 Tradition recorded on tape from Akwamu by the author. See Appendix I, Section J.

3 Mamfe traditions collected by the author. Though no cross-check from the areas involved has been made, there may be some truth in the tradition. See Appendix I.

4 Conversation with Nana Agyenfra V of Late-Kubease. See Appendix I.

possible; and with the coming of the Akyem immigrants in the 1730s the change gradually became complete by the end of the eighteenth century. Mamfe, in particular, became separated from their Guan-speaking neighbours of Abiriw and Abotakyi, hemmed in by the Twi-speaking towns of Akuropon and Amanokrom.

The Guan-speaking people of the Kyerepon towns, though they escaped the process of complete 'Akanisation' of their language, gradually accepted many Twi words into their vocabulary. But their Guan neighbours of Late escaped even this 'invasion' of Akan words, thanks to their geographical position. They are separated from the rest of the Akuapem towns by the valley between the parallel ridges with steep descents on both sides.

Yet, if this linguistic situation can be fully accepted as a process of change that has been going on in Akuapem since the closing decades of the seventeenth century, certain other factors must be investigated. Firstly, linguists should further investigate the assertion made by Ivor Wilks that 'a rapid lexicostatistical count of the various Akuapem Guan dialects shows a clustering in cognation of around 90 per cent'. Secondly, it would be a rewarding experience to find how much Guan dialect is still employed in citations which are made in the fetish houses in these former Guan-speaking towns.[1]

Whatever doubts we may entertain about the linguistic situation in the Benkum division, there is no doubt that the peoples of Benkum and Nifa divisions have certain things in common and these point to affinity in the past or common origin. Unlike their Akan neighbours who are late comers to the ridge, the Guan-speakers are patrilineal. The stools of Akuropon and Amanokrom – both Akyem-settler towns and Aburi, Ahwerease – of Akwamu origin – are matrilineal. Perhaps an interesting survival is the celebration of the Ohum festival. In modern times when the process of social change is very widespread, it is difficult to defend the contention that the Ohum is a festival peculiar to the Guan communities in Akuapem. Kyerepon traditions indicate that the celebration of the Ohum in some Akyem Abuakwa towns, for example Tafo and Oseem, has its origin from the Kyerepon Guan.[2]

There are reasons to believe that it was the principal custom of the Guan-speaking communities.[3] Firstly, the Ohum, unlike the Odwira, is connected with the worship of the gods, and it is an important occasion for the fetish priest.[4] Odwira has certain things in common with the Ohum – both are purification ceremonies, remembrance as well as thanksgiving or harvest festivals; but Odwira is particularly concerned with the purification of the stools.[5] The Guan-speaking communities are known to have had no chiefs of the Akan type; and, therefore, their ceremonies were not connected with chieftaincy or the stools.

Nana Otutu Bagyiri IV, Ohene of Abiriw, told the author that the Ohum had

1 In an interview with an old man of Mamfe the author was told that a new fetish priest always has to learn the words used in citation. He emphasised that the words do not belong to the Twi language.

2 Traditions of the Kyerepon Guan. See Appendix I.

3 S. Djan, *The Sunlight Reference Almanac*, Aburi 1936, p. 100; S. Flanko, *Twifo Amammuisem*, London 1951, p. 31; S. Akuffo, *Ahemfi Adesua*, Vol. 1, Exter 1950, pp. 110–11

4 Akuffo, pp. 110–16

5 Djan, p. 101, and M. J. Field, *Akim Kotoku, an Oman of the Gold Coast*, Crown Agents 1948, pp. 159–70

never been a festival of the Guan community of Abiriw.[1] Instead he emphasised that the people of Abiriw had been celebrating *Eba*. But this seems to be the same as *Bba* of the Guan communities of Late, described by Brokensha,[2] which he states is the old Guan annual festival, and he observes that it is known in Twi as Ohum. This may be accepted as one finds very few differences, if any, between the Eba or Bba of the present-day Guan-speaking communities and their now Twi-speaking neighbours in the southern section of the state.

In conclusion, it can be strongly suggested that the Ohum (Bba) festival is original to the Guan-speaking communities of Akuapem since it is directly in consonance with their traditional system; for it is a festival connected with their fetish-houses, whilst the Odwira is connected with the chiefs and the stools they occupy. It must, however, be noted that the Akan Odwira festival has overshadowed the Guan festivals, and attempts to revive the importance of the latter have been unsuccessful.

Concerning the present-day inhabitants of Akuapem, oral, written and archaeological sources point to the Guan[3] communities as the earliest settlers in the hills. These Hill Guan, as they are sometimes called,[4] are members of a group of other Guan-speakers scattered over modern Ghana.

The whole matter of origins and distribution of Guan peoples in Ghana is extremely complex and highly speculative. Only a summary of the various views on this matter may be relevant to this work. Linguists and anthropologists agree that Guan is a group of closely related languages spoken by people living mostly in Ghana, though some pockets are found in Togo and Dahomey.[5] Guan belongs to the Kwa linguistic unit of the Niger-Congo family, and it is closely related to Twi, Fante, Anyi, Baule and the Abidjan Lagoon languages, and more remotely to Ga, Ewe, Yoruba, Nupe, Igbo and Bini.[6] The ancestors of the Guan in modern Ghana are believed to have lived in a continuous crescent along the eastern fringes of the forest in modern Ghana from Winneba in the south to the Gonja district in the north; but in more recent times this crescent has been broken up by Akan, Ewe and Ga immigrants.[7]

1 Interview recorded on tape by author with Nana Otutu Bagyiri IV. See Appendix I.

2 D. Brokensha, *Social Change of Larteh, Ghana*, Oxford 1966, pp. 171–3

3 'Guan' is sometimes spelt 'Guang' by other writers. But for the sake of consistency with the spelling of 'Akan', the author prefers 'Guan' to 'Guang'.

4 See C. Painter, 'The Guang and West African Historical Reconstruction', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 9, November 1966, p. 58

5 Christaller, p. xx; J. Goody, 'Ethnological Notes on the Distribution of the Guang Language', *J.A.L.* Vol. II, Pt. 3, 1963, pp. 173–89; C. Painter, 'The Guang and West African Historical Reconstruction'.

6 C. Painter, *The Distribution of Guang in Ghana*, *J.A.W.L.* Vol. IV, 1, 1967, p. 25; J. H. Greenberg, 'Studies in African Linguistic Classification, *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, 1955, pp. 8–10

7 J. M. Stewart, 'Akan History: Some Linguistic Evidence', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, No. 9, November 1966, pp. 54–8. The 1960 Census of Ghana showed a total number of Guan-speakers in Ghana as 251,810. Their distribution from south to north is as follows: Awutu 33,870; Efutu 21,160 (both in the Winneba area); Late (Akuapem) 22,330; Kyerepon (Akuapem) 33,780; Anum-Boso 18,348; Nkonya 11,000; Krachi 14,140 (all in the Volta Region); Achode 3170; Nchimburu and Nchumuru 13,500; Gonja 62,700 (all in the Northern Region); and other Guan 17,770. cf Twi 1,899,470; Fante 757,550; Nzima 178,120; Ga 560,270; Ewe 876,230.

The nuclear area of the Guan seems to have been the Krachi-Salaga region in the Volta and the Afram valleys and the dispersion north or south took place from this area.[1] The Volta valley is part of what geographers call the Dahomey Gap,[2] a grassland and wooded savannah as a result of a break in the normal rainfall regime, occurring between Western Nigeria and eastern Ghana and creating a wide corridor of savannah country which connects the coast with the savannah in the interior. Here with their simple tools, such as hoes, and aided by a reasonably fertile soil,[3] the ancestors of the modern Guan cultivated the land for yams and cereals.

If the valleys of the Volta and the Afram are accepted as the cradle of the Guan-speaking communities, it is not difficult to see how they could easily spread themselves north and south of this nuclear area. The line of migration of the southern Guan communities – the Hill and the coastal Guan – may possibly and easily be along the valley of the Volta.[4] The movement might have been rapid and *en masse* at times, particularly if under pressure of war which was frequent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Oral traditions[5] and legend[6] of the Guan State of Atara Firam (or Atele Firempon of Eva Meyerowitz), for instance, point to such a mass movement; and in our own times movements across the Volta[7] and subsequently across the Togo hills into modern Togo and Dahomey are well known.[8]

Little is known for certain as to when the Guan communities of Kyerepon and Late arrived in the Akuapem hills. Unlike those of their overlords, Akwamu and subsequently Asante, their traditions lack the exciting exploits of state-forming ancestors such as the Ansa Sasrakus and Osei Tutu. Furthermore, the activities of the 'Hill Negroes' did not catch the attention of the European trading companies until the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century. It is, thus, from this time that the history of modern Akuapem can be fully constructed. However, there is evidence from oral sources, controlled by isolated sources from European records and archaeology, to show that the hills were already peopled by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

On the 'Map of the Regions of the Gold Coast in Guinea', dated 25th December 1629,[9] the Akuapem area is shown as occupied, from south to north, by small

1 Goody, p. 183

2 P. A. Allison, 'Historical Inferences to be drawn from the Effects of Human Settlement on the Vegetation of Africa', *J.A.H.*, Vol. III, 2, 1962, p. 242; O. Davies, 'The Neolithic Revolution in Tropical Africa', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. IV, pt. II, 1960, pp. 14–20

3 Davies, op. cit. 4 Goody, p. 185

5 K. Ameyaw, 'Kwawu—an Early Akan State', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 9, November 1966, pp. 39–45; E. Meyerowitz, 'The Traditions of Tafo from *c.* 1600 to 1740, from materials given to me by the Tafohene, Nana Yaw Dabanka and his elders in 1946', *Akan Traditions of Origin*, London 1952

6 E. Efa, *Forosie* (a novel in Twi), Cape Coast 1944

7 A. R. Biørn, *Beretning om de Danske Forter og Negerier paa Guineakysten, 1788*, Thaarups Archiv III, Copenhagen, pp. 223–4

8 R. Cornevin, 'Contribution a l'étude des populations parlant des langues Gouang au Togo et au Dahomey', *J.A.L.*, Vol. 5, pt. 3, 1964, pp. 226–30; Painter, 'The Guang and West African Historical Reconstruction', p. 63

9 Map 743 of the Leupen Collection, State Archives, The Hague, 25 December 1629, in *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 9, November 1966, p. 14

communities of Aboera, Bonoe, Equea and Latebi. The southern boundary of the area occupied by these communities is limited by the relatively powerful state of Accra[1] which was soon (1677–81) to be destroyed by the Akwamu State,[2] later emerging as a dark and menacing cloud west of the Akuapem hills. Northward were the Kamana people; they are now found north of, and owe allegiance to, the present-day Akwamu state.[3] East of the 'Hill Negroes' were the people of Ladoku and Ningo, who occupied the wide expanse of grassland.

Ivor Wilks readily identifies Aboera as the present-day Aburi, and Equea as Atweasin[4] which is now a mere ward in the town of Aburi. Of Bonoe, Wilks does not make any identification. It seems probable that it was the first settlement of a fusion of people who are now living at Mamfe, and the ancestors of the Kyerepon Guan communities in the Nifa (Right Wing) division of the Akuapem state.[5] According to Mamfe tradition, their ancestors, predominantly Guan-speaking, first settled on the banks of a stream called Damuruku in the valley lying west of present-day Obosomase and Tutu. The tradition claims that the ruler held sway over the various Guan communities and this authority remained unbroken until the coming of the Akwamu. It was from here that they moved to the present-day Mamfe as a result of the lack of water and also quarrels with their neighbours in the area.[6] This tradition is consistent with a report of 1658 that:

> an elder of a place called Bon situated inland behind Accra went to Akwamu to greet the King, but was seized and sold as a slave at Accra, for the King of Akwamu had specifically ordered him to be sold to the whites, so that he should be carried out of the country.[7]

Thus the exodus of the people of Mamfe from this settlement (Damurukuso or Bon)[8] to their present home between Akuropon and Amanokrom was perhaps due more to Akwamu pressure from Nyanaoase than to shortage of water and misunderstandings as the tradition alleges.

The tradition of the Kyerepon Guan[9] also points to their having once lived in this area. It traces the migration of the ancestors of present-day Abiriw, Awukugua and Apirade from Abotoase, a place once situated between modern Oboso-

1 L. F. Roemer, *The Coast of Guinea*, Legon 1965, p. 5

2 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 105

3 The author had the opportunity of witnessing a swearing of an oath of allegiance ceremony by a newly-installed Kamana chief to the Akwamuhene, Nana Kwafo Akoto II, during his field work in the Akwamu capital at the end of August 1967. Some recordings were made.

4 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State'. The present-day Aburi people are mixed—the earlier settlers believed to be of Guan origin moved to Aburi from Nkunkren; they owned the site which is now the mission station. Atweasin had been settled by people of Akwamu origin. (See Appendix I for oral traditions of Aburi.)

5 Oral traditions of Mamfe and the Kyerepon Guan. See Appendix I

6 Mamfe tradition, collected by the author. See Appendix I.

7 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 102

8 'Bon' is a Twi word meaning 'valley'. This may be consistent with the name of the place where the people settled in the valley west of the hill area where the present-day Obosomase is situated.

9 Recorded on tape from Nana Otutu Bagyiri IV, Ohene of Abiriw, August 1967. See Appendix I.

mase and Tutu and the Densu river. This may be consistent with the position of Bonoe on the map of 1629; Mamfe tradition also claims that some of their ancestors lived near Abotoase. From Abotoase the Kyerepon Guan moved in separate divisions to their present-day settlements of Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirade.[1]

There is, however, no indication on the map of 1629 of the Kyerepon Guan; nor does the accompanying text say anything about them. The work of T. Shaw, however, may help towards the solution of the question of when the Kyerepon Guan settled in the present-day Nifa division of the Akuapem state.

Shaw concludes from his work at Dawu that the area had been occupied by the Guan-speaking since the beginning of the fifteenth century. He suggests that the midden which was excavated was first used at some time during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was still in use until the beginning of the nineteenth.[2] He also suggests a cultural infusion by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and attributes the responsibility to the Akwamu.[3]

Unfortunately the chronology of Shaw is unacceptable and revision has been suggested by P. Ozanne. However, he accepts Shaw's conjecture of Akwamu responsibility for the cultural changes evident from the Dawu excavation. Ozanne corrects the time of the foundation of the midden to the end of the sixteenth century and the date of its falling out of use between 1677 and 1681.[4] He bases his revision on tobacco pipes dateable from those found in Accra and elsewhere by association with European imports.

If Ozanne's revision is accepted, then the story of migration from the region of Bonoe by the Kyerepon Guan and the people of Mamfe would be consistent. The Akwamu threat may have become real towards the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth,[5] and have led to the movement of the Mamfe people from the Bonoe area, and their neighbours, northwards, pushing the Kamana people ahead of them. They were thus not sufficiently settled or gathered to qualify for appearance on the map of 1629. However, they could not escape the expanding influence and power of Akwamu; by 1646 Akwamu had definitely begun a bid to control the Akuapem hills. Wilks writes:

> that Larteh had been drawn into the Akwamu power complex by 1646 creates a presumption that the other states lying between Akwamu and Larteh – other divisions of modern Akwapim – had likewise joined Akwamu by this date.[6]

This statement will be examined in the next chapter in an attempt to revise the opinion expressed by Wilks.

1 The oral traditions say that both the Mamfe and the Kyerepon people had lived in the same area, but in different communities, perhaps almost similar to the village communities the modern Akuapem farmers have founded beyond the Densu. It is likely that the place name 'Abotoase' was known to the Europeans as 'Bon' or 'Bonoe'. In addition the traditions seem to suggest that Damarukuso (of Mamfe tradition) and Abotoase (of Abiriw tradition) must have been a centre, lying between the hills on the east and the Densu on the west, for long distance trading of coastal salt and palm oil from Akuapem, and cloth from Bonduku in the present-day Ivory Coast.

2 Shaw, p. 86 3 *Ibid.*, p. 89

4 P. Ozanne, review article, 'Excavation at Dawn', by T. Shaw, *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. VI, 1962, pp. 119–23

5 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 101 6 *Ibid.*

Latebi, on the map of 1629, is undoubtedly the Late division of modern Akuapem. The line of migration of the ancestors of the twin towns has different traditions from that of their Guan-speaking neighbours. Eva Meyerowitz[1] relates a tradition that the Late people known as the La or Ga Boni reached the Gold Coast as immigrants at the end of the sixteenth century, coming from the Benin area. They made their settlements between the mouth of the Volta and Accra and founded La Doku and La Badi, next to the settlements of the Kpesi aborigines, the earliest settlers of Guan extraction.[2] As a result of a quarrel among the La and Ga Wo and Ga Masi people who were later immigrants among the La Boni people, 'a chief of La Boni, Fianko Adeyite, took the majority of his people and went some thirty or forty miles inland, where in the hill country of Akuapem they founded some thirty villages, a few of which are in existence'.[3]

The main criticism of Mrs Meyerowitz's work, and in this context one may agree with J. D. Fage,[4] is her ready acceptance of this tradition of the Late Guan as a historical fact. Though her traditions of migration of the Late people from the direction of modern southern Nigeria is supported by information the author collected from the reigning Kubeasehene,[5] one is inclined to reject it as gospel truth. Had they come from the east, their language would not have had such close affinity with their Kyerepon neighbours. Painter writes:

> Had the Coastal Guang moved East along the coast from the West Kwa cradle when the other Guangs moved north-east, then the Coastal Guang would be as distant from the other Guang languages as from Twi.[6]

The safest presumption, therefore, may be that after their settlement on the coast, the ancestors of present-day Late were forced to retreat northwards as a result of the arrival of the Ga immigrants from the east. Reindorf, writing in 1889, says the Akan drove Guan-speaking tribes living around Tema to the Akuapem mountains and beyond the Volta.[7] In their movement to the hills it is probable that they had in their ranks a Ga minority who came to adopt the Guan language. This is perhaps the reason why many names in Late today have Ga origins,[8] even though the bearers cannot trace any Ga relations. On the other hand, it is perhaps safe to presume that there were some Guan remnants who might have been absorbed by the Ga immigrants; and this is evident in the

1 E. Meyerowitz, pp. 77–8

2 M. J. Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, Crown Agents 1940, pp. 82 and 83 n.

3 E. Meyerowitz, pp. 77–8

4 J. D. Fage, 'Ancient Ghana: A Review of the Evidence', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, 1957, p. 94

5 Nana Asiedu Agyemfra V relates that their ancestors first settled at a place called Afiako, on their way from Benin City. Later they moved to Amanfro, now in ruins on the motor road between Late and Mamfe.

6 Painter, 'The Guang and West African Historical Reconstruction', p. 63

7 C. Reindorf, p. 23

8 The very name Latebi has a Ga origin. Late-Bii = Late people.

presence of the Guan stool of Accra.[1] This presumption may be correct in the light of linguistic evidence. In her recent study of 'Bowdich's "Adampe" word list'[2] M. E. Kropp Dakubu concludes:

> The historical interest of this list lies in the evidence it affords that a Guan Language was associated with the area between Prampram and Ada as recently as the early nineteenth century. . . . There is thus reason to think that less than two hundred years ago two languages were intimately associated with part of the coast of Ghana that is now Adangme-speaking, namely, Adangme and a southern Guan language, the second which has since been eliminated by the first. . . . There is no doubt that there are Guan elements in Adangme (although not as many as in Ga), and absorption of a considerable group of Guan speakers into the Adangme-speaking population provides an obvious avenue for the acquisition of these elements.[3]

It can, therefore, be seen that by the beginning of the seventeenth century when Akwamu began its bid for power, the Akuapem ridge, which became the first scene of Akwamu imperial activity,[4] was already peopled. The Kyerepon-Guan, according to their tradition, had grouped themselves into 'five towns'[5] – Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirade – with Awukugua as their principal town; this status was later lost to Adukrom.[6] The Late Guan were also, according to their tradition, gradually grouping themselves into the larger units of Late-Ahenease and Late-Kubease.[7] South of these still Guan-speaking groups the ancestors of the once Guan-speaking groups of Mamfe, Abotakyi, Mampon, Tutu and Obosomase were sorting themselves out. Tradition and legend[8] have it that Abotakyi, which is now a mere hamlet between Mampon and Amanokrom, was the largest of these settlements but was destroyed as a result of a 'civil war', and the inhabitants dispersed to make new homes at, and swell the size of, present-day Mamfe and Mampon.[9]

1 Ward, p. 51

2 M. E. Kropp Dakubu, 'Bowdich's "Adampe" Word List', *Research Review*, Vol. 5, 3, I.A.S., 1969, pp. 47–8

3 *Ibid.*

4 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 102

5 Or 'fifty towns'; Christaller has an interesting explanation of this matter of 'fifty Kyerepon towns'. He says the term *Amannuonum* which is interpreted to mean 'fifty towns' may be *Amannuanom* meaning 'five brother-towns'. See Christaller, p. xx. The Kyerepon Guan traditions support this view. See Appendix I.

6 Kyerepon Guan traditions; also Reindorf, p. 87. This is seriously challenged by Nana Bagyire IV of Abiriw, who insists that there was no unity among the Kyerepon at this time to warrant such a status to one ruler. However, the name '*Okereso*' meaning head of the Okere people which the Kyerepon still use for Awukugua is indicative of that fact. See Appendix I.

7 Late tradition; also cited by Reindorf, p. 87. They were living in thirty 'towns', and ruins of some of these can be found along the motor-road between Mamfe and Late. These may have been villages or hamlets, the pattern of which is not difficult to find among the present-day Akuapem migrant farmers around Koforidua and Suhum.

8 Struck, pp. 1–2

9 In *Anthropos*, the tradition relates that Abotakyi was the largest of the thirty 'towns' of Late. In this case, perhaps the thirty 'towns' may have included the towns in the present-day Benkum (Left Wing) division in the State.

It is possible to believe that Abotakyi was formerly a large town which covered a wide area from the outskirts of Mampon to those of Mamfe, and that with its destruction many refugees dispersed to make new homes in the nearby towns. For there are many inhabitants of Mamfe today who lay claims to the land around Abotakyi, and to the outskirts of Mampon.

The date of the destruction of this once large town is unknown. However, in the absence of any archaeological evidence, oral sources may give a clue to the time of the incident. The narrative on the 'civil war' in the oral tradition published in *Anthropos* states that:

> When Ansa Sasraku heard of the matter, he was so pleased about it, as the war reduced the power of Akuapem. Soon afterwards he equipped an army and came and razed what was left of Abotakyi to the ground.[1]

The Ansa Sasraku may be the Akwamuhene who laid the foundation of the Akwamu empire. His death is placed at 1689,[2] and it can reasonably be said that the catastrophe occurred in the early decades of the second half of the seventeenth century;[3] Ansa Sasraku is said to have died an old man.

There is evidence, mainly from archaeological sources,[4] to show that these predominantly Guan communities possessed a high level of material culture. They were familiar with the art of brass casting. C. T. Shaw writes: 'Clearly these early Guan inhabitants were craftsmen in brass of a very high order.'[5] The finds at Dawu revealed crucibles and moulds for this art. Objects of iron, tools, slags, various bronze objects and pottery found in the midden point to the existence of a flourishing manufacturing society. There is evidence to show, however, that the skills declined towards the end of the seventeenth century.[6]

These Guan-speaking people formed predominantly agricultural communities which lacked comprehensive political organisation of the Akan type.[7] M. J. Field, writing on the social organisation of the early Ga people, says of the early Guan communities:

> We are told by some historians that the Guan, of whom possibly the Kpesi were a part, "ruled" a vast stretch of the country. I have no doubt that they spread over vast area, but doubt if the idea of rulership and centralised

1 Struck, p. 2

2 Wilks, *The Study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire—Akwamu 1650–1750*, M.A. thesis, University College of North Wales, 1959, p. 30. Akwamu tradition. This is the Akwamu king to whom the credit is given for the expansion of the State to the Akuapem hills and the coast of Accra.

3 The date may be tentatively fixed at about the late 1660s or early 1670s; that is before the Akwamu-Accra war of 1677–81 described in the next chapter. Dr Oku Ampofu, a medical practitioner of Mampon Akuapem, told the author that when the site was being prepared for his present house at Abotakyi a jug was dug up from the ground. He sent it to the Ghana National Museum which subsequently sent it to Germany where it was identified as being made in a small German village about 1632. The Ghana National Museum still has the jug in its possession. See Plate I.

4 See, for example, Shaw. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 87

6 *Ibid.* 7 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 400

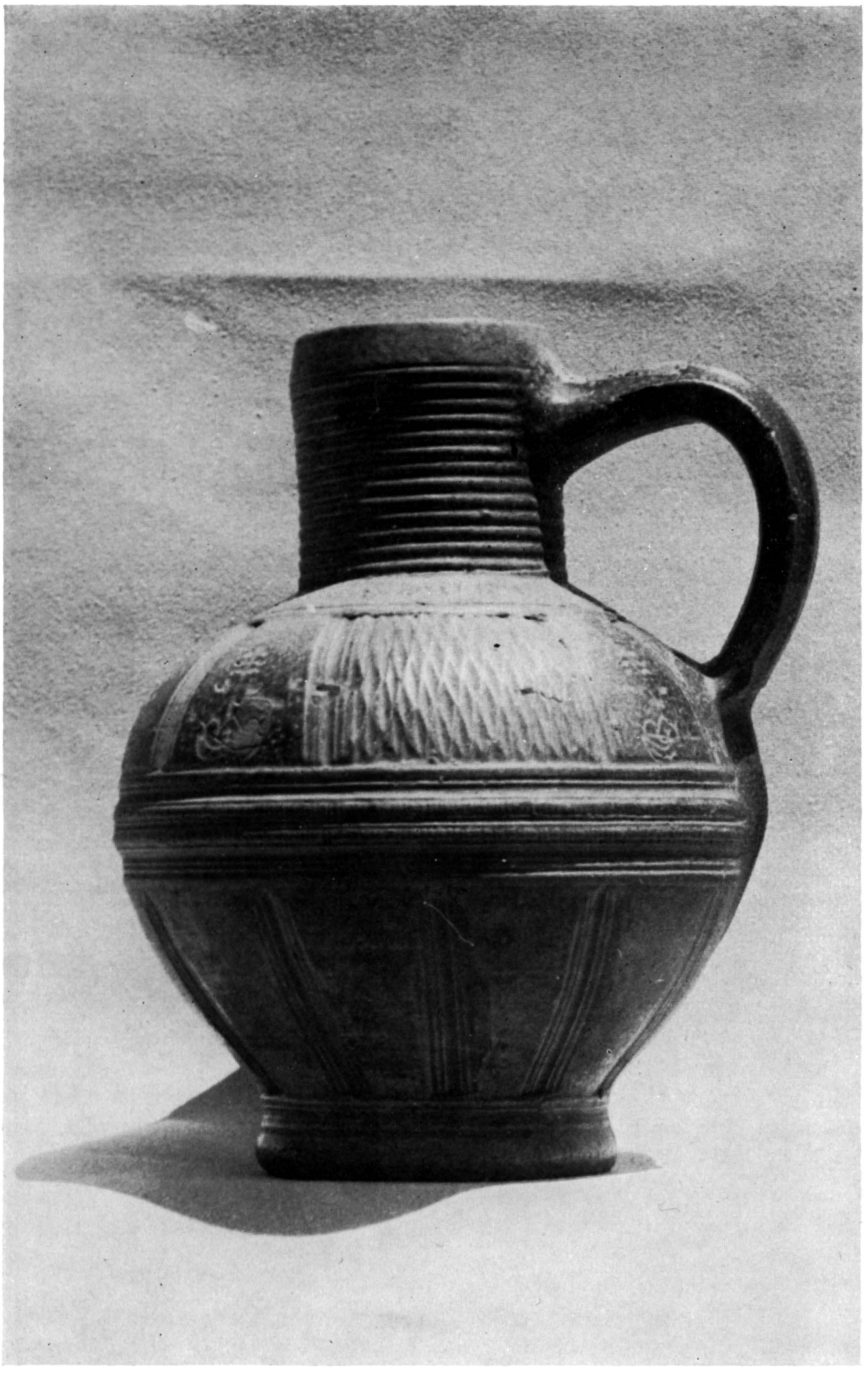

Plate 1 Stoneware pot, made about 1632 at Raeren near Aachen, probably sent to the Gold Coast by Dutch traders, and dug up in 1952 at Abotakyi. (Property of Dr Oku Ampofo.) See p. 18.

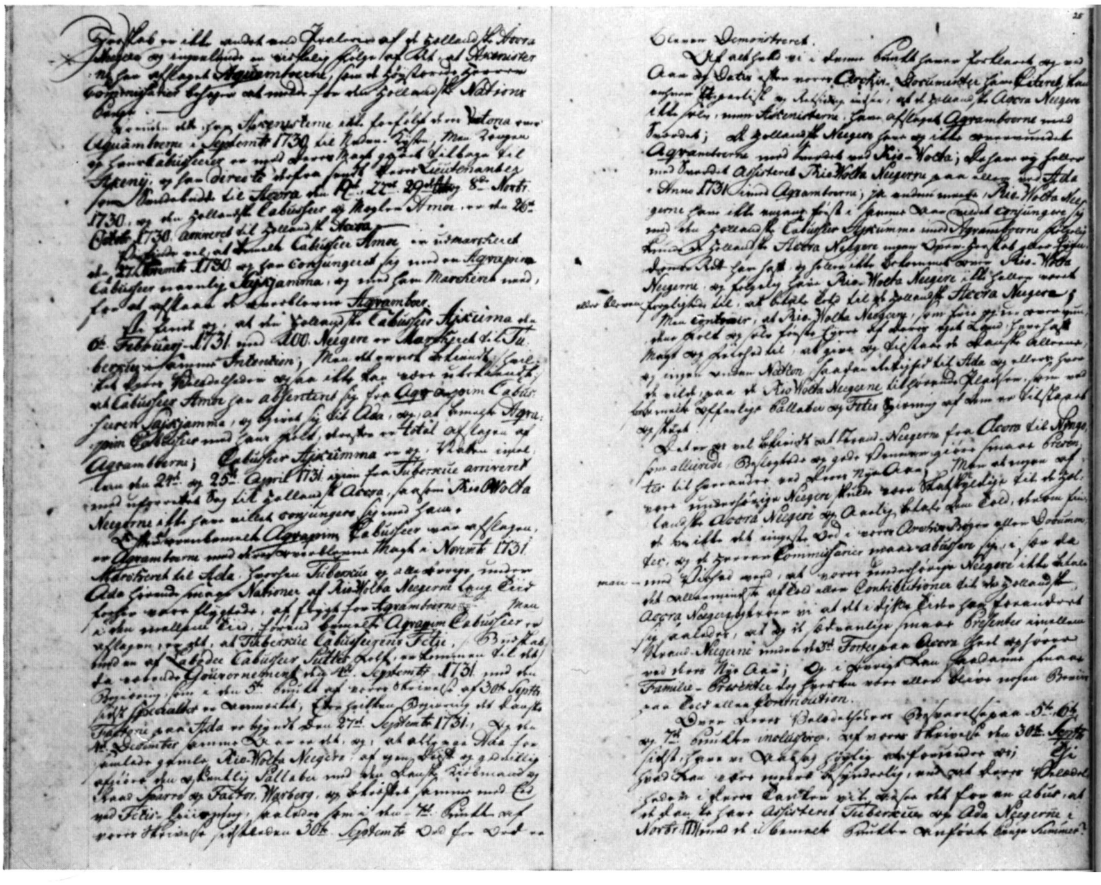

Plate 2 Page 25 of the Aarestrup Memorandum, containing important information used to establish the chronology of the chiefs of the Akuapem paramount stool. See p. 40 and p. 100 (footnote 1).

> government ever entered any of their heads till the Asante military menace came upon them.[1]

There was no conception of Akuapem as a political unit until 1730 when the Guan communities – the Late Guan and Kyerepon Guan – and the remnant Akwamu settlers around Aburi and Ahwerease were converted into a political association.[2] Perhaps Nana Bagyire IV may be correct when he told the author in a conversation[3] that the reason why the small immigrant groups from Akyem were able to dominate the ridge and to invest in themselves the position of paramount power was their possession of a high political system. 'They were more advanced in statecraft', he said. The only common link between one Guan pocket and the other was language and the annual gathering together for a religious festival. 'In those days' writes Reindorf, 'the Akuapems were not governed by any principal man, but every town had its ruler'.[4]

Such political power as was exercised among the Guan communities was, to a large extent, concentrated in the hands of the fetish-priests.[5] These were thus holding the dual offices of priests and chiefs of their people. Each of the principal Guan towns had its own fetish and priest, besides the petty gods under the lineage heads. Some of the fetish shrines in the early eighteenth century were respected and dreaded more than others. For instance, Kyenku of Obosomase must have been very powerful at the time to have been the one before whom the oath of allegiance to the Akyem overlords was sworn in 1733.[6] Earlier in the second half of the seventeenth century the Otutu god at Awukugua had advertised itself by enabling a royal from Asante to give birth to Osei Tutu, who, by his personal influence, attracted one of its priests, Okomfo Anokye, to Asante, where together they laid the foundations of the Asante Union. In Akuapem today, despite the impact of Christianity, Fetishism is still an important element particularly with the growth in stature of Akonodi of Late, whose shrine has become the favourite haunt of all classes of people. Akonodi is of recent origin and does not rank among the old ones such as Kyenku and Otutu mentioned above and Bosompra of Abiriw with his wife Topre of Mamfe, Lamole of Abonse and Ola of Dawu.[7] The priests were also in charge of the social organisation and led the way in observing annual festivals among the various Guan communities. These priest-kings thus wielded considerable power; however, according to Nana Bagyire IV, the punishments they could inflict were limited to moral and spiritual sanctions,[8] but this may not always have been the case.

There is no ground for the contention that during the whole of the Guan period, the hills were constantly in a disturbed condition because the communities there

1 Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, p. 83 n.

2 Akuapem traditions, Appendix I

3 Recorded conversation with Nana Bagyire IV, Ohene of Abiriw. See Appendix I.

4 Reindorf, p. 88

5 Otutu Bagyire IV, 'The Guans: A preliminary Note', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 7, January 1965, p. 23

6 Reindorf, p. 90; Akuapem traditions, Appendix I

7 Otutu Bagyire IV, p. 23. See also Appendix I.

8 *Ibid.*

lacked political organisation of the Akan type, though there may have been isolated cases such as the exploits of Okyeame Aworoben of Mamfe, the only example on which C. C. Reindorf based his statement that 'As these different states (the Guan communities) were not governed by a king, the country was very often in a disturbed condition, chiefly between the Guan and Kyerepong tribes.'[1] In fact, they lacked any organisation for war. One source of Akuapem traditions says:

> The forebears of the Akuapems were people who did not understand trade; they were planters, from early morning their eyes were on nothing but their plantations and their food; they did not understand war; we have not heard from any one that the Akuapem kept on making war now here, now there.[2]

One may suspect that the disturbed condition in the hills was created by the Akwamu, who, in their desire for the slave trade with the Europeans on the coast, were ready to use any means of obtaining slaves from the hills; and that a greater part of the existing traditions of Akuapem are versions of the Akyem royal house's traditions, inclined to show how perverse the Guan and the Akwamu periods were in the hills before the imposition of its rule.

There is no doubt that the Guan-speaking communities lacked the Akan political system of government (and they still lack the Akan clanship organisation).[3] They were organised in groups of minor and major lineages, each lineage with a fetish god. The point of unity of any of the communities was the common worship at a given shrine. The custodian of each shrine was the leader of that group, with a series of assistants. It was upon these politically ill-organised Guan-speaking communities that the Akan peoples of Akwamu, and subsequently of Akyem, descended. The newcomers were better armed and familiar with the idea of kingship or chieftaincy. These strangers superimposed upon the Guan communities, among whom they settled, a new political conception, namely, the idea of territorial and secular leadership in place of the immemorial institution of a ruler, who was the high priest of the clan god or goddess and dealt mainly in spiritual sanctions. Otutu Bagyire IV writes:

> At one time the attachment was so strong as to make the office of a Guan chief indistinguishable from that of a priest. Through the ordinary process of evolution, however, and also through the impact of Akan thought and culture, the sacred office of a priest was separated from that of secular constitutional chief.[4]

1 Reindorf, p. 88 2 Struck, p. 3 3 Ayisi, p. 136

4 Otutu Bagyire IV, p. 23. One may suspect that the Guan fetish-priest rulers may have exercised influence other than religious, though there are no traditions to support this. In correspondence with the author M. Johnson pointed out that in the case of Karakye Dente, a Guan fetish shrine in Kete Krachi today, and who is alleged to have moved from Late (see Reindorf, pp. 86–7), there is evidence that the shrine exercised very real political power and controlled the trade routes as well.

CHAPTER ONE

The rise and fall of Akwamu suzerainty in the Akuapem Hills to *c.* 1730

In about 1730 the Akuapem State emerged. It comprised the various communities of the Hill people who, with the Ga people, and assisted by others, declared a 'war of liberation' to overthrow the Akwamu State to which they had been subjects for at least half a century. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the causes and nature of the Akwamu suzerainty and of the war which overthrew it.[1]

By the opening decades of the eighteenth century, the Akwamu had built themselves into a well-organised state of potential power west of the Akuapem hills.[2] The beginnings of Akwamu State in the first half of the seventeenth century included the areas where Akwatia, Kwaben and Asamankese (its first capital) are today. From Asamankese the capital was moved to Nyanaoase.[3] After 1730[4] a new and permanent capital was built at Akwamufie east of the Volta and just below the recently built Volta dam.

There were several reasons for the shifting of the capital from Asamankese to Nyanaoase. The first consideration was economic; they wanted to gain control over the great Abonse market[5] and the trade paths to the forts of the European trading nations at Accra.[6] In the first half of the seventeenth century, the coast at Accra was of great economic importance to Akwamu, for five European nations had built trading forts there and the control of the paths along which the trade passed to these forts became a necessary preoccupation of the early Akwamu rulers.[7]

The second consideration was the need for security of the new state. On the west and north-west of its boundary, the Akwamu state lived throughout its

1 This period has been studied in detail by I. Wilks (*The Study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire—Akwamu, 1650–1750*, and 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire 1650–1710') and this chapter is based considerably on his work. Other sources have been used where they throw additional light on the period, and in certain cases, notably the probable date when Akwamu rule in the hills began, and the history of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman, the author has found it necessary to differ from Wilks's interpretation.

2 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire' 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100

4 L. F. Roemer, *The Coast of Guinea*, p. 20

5 O. Dapper, 'The Akan Forest States', a provisional translation of an extract from 'Beschreibung von Africa' (German edition, Amsterdam, 1670) in *Ghana Notes and Queries*, Vol. 9, November 1966, p. 17

6 Roemer, pp. 5–6 7 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', pp. 102–4

existence in a state of war, and perhaps constant fear, with Akyem.[1] In fact, it was the Akyem States – Abuakwa and Kotoku – which, taking advantage of Akwamu's preoccupation with its rebellious subjects at the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century, were largely instrumental in spelling the doom of the Akwamu empire. Thus the various shifts of the position of the capital had taken place also as a result of pressure from Akyem, particularly Akyem Abuakwa, which was also a growing power like Akwamu.[2] The Akyem Abuakwa wanted to open a window into Akwamu territory and to find an outlet to the sea to tap the lucrative European trade. They were only able to do this because the Akwamu were preoccupied with an eastward expansion leaving their north-west flank weak and vulnerable. However, this was not achieved until 1730.[3] Abuakwa expansion could not be in a south-westward direction because of the powerful Fante; also they were friendly with the Agona, because both found a common enemy in the Akwamu.[4]

The southward and eastward expansion of Akwamu has been described as beginning with the domination of the Akuapem hills in 1646.[5] It will be observed from the evidence to be discussed below that domination over modern Akuapem was probably not completed until the conquest of Accra in 1681. The conquest of Accra which took place between 1677 and 1681 was made to satisfy Akwamu designs to control not only the flow of lucrative trade from the European forts there, but also to take over Accra's control of two important inland markets at Late and Abonse.[6] With the conquest of Accra, the plains lying west and east of the Lower Volta fell easily under Akwamu sway[7]; and by the beginning of the eighteenth century (1702), (under Basua and Addo, successors of Ansa Sasraku III who died in 1689[8]), Akwamu power was felt as far east as the borders of modern Dahomey.[9]

Details of the process of the establishment of Akwamu rule over Akuapem are lacking. Oral traditions of Akwamu rule over the hills lack any details of the process of annexation; however, the Akuapem remember the severe hand of the Akwamu rulers which they allege was the main cause of their overthrow.[10] Documentary sources do not give any details of conquest. Hence Wilks simply sums up the Akwamu annexation of the Akuapem hills in this manner:

> The details of the conquest, if indeed conquest it was, are lacking, but by 1646 the western parts of Akwapim were already claimed as Akwamu possessions, and the Akwamu king was receiving gold payments from Accra in order to

1 W. Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, London 1705, p. 65.

2 A brief history of the growth of Akyem Abuakwa will be examined towards the end of this chapter.

3 Roemer, p. 6 4 *Ibid.*, p. 2

5 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 101

6 M. Johnson has drawn the attention of the author to an Akyem-Akuapem coast route (via Mamfe, Abotakyi, Mampon) which could have been very important, and the control of this may have been politically necessary. The shutting of the Akyem from this route to the coast of Accra is confirmed by Roemer, p. 6 and Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 41

7 Biørn, *Beretning*, pp. 223–4

8 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', pp. 119–20

9 Roemer, p. 6 10 Akuapem tradition. See Appendix I.

permit merchants from the interior to pass through the hills to the coast. Akwamu maintained its rule over the area until 1730.[1]

In an earlier article on Akwamu, Wilks presumes that if Late had been brought under Akwamu power by 1646 then 'the other states lying between Akwamu and Larteh – other divisions of the modern Akuapim – had likewise joined Akwamu by this date'.[2]

This presumption may not be correct; the total evidence of Akwamu-Accra relations in the mid-seventeenth century, particularly that concerning the dispute over the trade routes passing through the Akuapem hills, strongly suggests that the Akwamu annexation of the Akuapem hills was not complete until after the defeat of Accra in 1681.[3]

There is evidence to show that Accra may have had some political and economic control, a feeble one perhaps, over the Akuapem hills prior to the growth of Akwamu power over the area. It was, therefore, necessary for Akwamu to direct its military attack against Accra which was a power to reckon with at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Hill peoples, who were militarily weak could then be easily incorporated into the rising Akwamu empire.

Roemer and Reindorf[4] show that the Guan communities were under the suzerainty of Accra until the Akwamu conquest of 1681 (Reindorf 1680). Reindorf writes:

> . . . they were then subjects to the King of Akra and were called not Akuapems but Guans (or Shuoyi) by the Akras. When the kingdom of Akra was destroyed by the Akwamu about 1680, the remnant of Akra as well as the Guan and Adangmes came under the Akwamu yoke.[5]

And Roemer had this to say of the Accra-Akwamu battle of 1677–81:

> . . . the mountain-negroes and the Adampes [the Adangme] [were] ruled by the Accras. Both the Adampes and the mountain-negroes' ancestors had been enslaved by the Accras. . . . The Aquamboes engaged the Accras in three battles in the course of one year. The Aquamboes won all these battles . . .

1 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 402

2 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 101

3 In correspondence (1970) with the author, Ivor Wilks says he has revised the section on this matter in the early part of his Akwamu thesis. He argues: that the Akwamu initially moved into the Nyanaoase area north of Accra as clients of the Accra—this is *circa* 1600; that their function was to strengthen the Accra northern frontier and so prevent Akyem and other traders coming right through to the Accra beaches; and that the Akwamu power gradually grew as they came to control trade more and more, until from time to time they were able to act in ways inimical to their patrons. Wilks concludes that the Akwamu, however, *de jure*, remained clients until 1677, and he sees the Akwamu-Accra conflict of that year as essentially a coup d'etat organised by the latter and in which the Akwamu clients seized power from their Accra patrons with, so it seems, the support of at least part of the mercantile element in Accra—the Dutch perhaps.

4 There is no doubt that Reindorf, writing more than a hundred years after Roemer, obtained a lot of information from the Danish writer. This he admits in the Preface to his book (*op. cit.*, 1889). However, it seems in this context he was using Ga traditional sources.

5 Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 86

> consequently the Adampes and the mountain-negroes were subjected to Acquamboe rule.[1]

Besides these direct statements in support of this suggestion of the previous domination of the Akuapem hills by the Accra, there is evidence from the Accra-Akwamu dispute over Late in 1646. Details of this dispute are obscure. It is, however, clear that the dispute was the first action initiated by Akwamu to weaken the control of Accra not only over the hills, but also over the European trade on the eastern coast of the Gold Coast. Akwamu would then follow this up by a political and military expansion. In 1646 Akwamu gained control over the important market centre at Late,[2] which seems to have been either controlled by Accra or was a free market where the people of Accra obtained much of the corn from the Akuapem hills. The King of Akwamu demanded payments in gold from Accra in order to allow merchants at Late to pass through to Accra. War nearly resulted over this, as the Accra attacked Late to force open the path. The Akwamu response to this was an economic blockade of Accra.[3] The dispute did not develop into open warfare between the two sides. There were two reasons for this: firstly, the Dutch fiscal, Caarloff, paid several visits in person to the King of Akwamu in an attempt to persuade him to open the paths to Kamana and Akyem merchants.[4] Secondly, it seems Akwamu was not yet prepared to offer any direct challenge to the military power of Accra, for the Akwamu king realised that he needed time for the extreme unpopularity of the Accra rule over the Guan and Adangme to make itself felt,[5] and also for the latent internal conflict in Accra itself to come to the surface.[6]

That Akwamu did not achieve full control over the Guan communities until 1681 is also evident from the fact that when in 1677–81 Akwamu launched the offensive against Accra, its ruler, Ansa Sasraku III, sought help from the Agona and Akron states to the west[7] and also the Agaves to the east.[8] There is no evidence that Akwamu had any assistance in the form of manpower from the hills. In realms of speculation, one can say that some of the Guan communities, particularly those nearer the centre of Akwamu power, Aburi, for instance, which had been settled largely by people of Akwamu origin,[9] may have remained neutral, but Late may have supported the Accra. For there is evidence 'that refugees from Larteh fled in numbers across the Volta, expelled by Akwamu army in 1679',[10] a period which is well within the duration of the Accra-Akwamu

1 Roemer, pp. 5 and 6 2 Dapper, p. 17

3 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', pp. 104–5, referring to W.I.C., C.C. 11, *Elmina Journal*, entries 16 November and 15 December 1646

4 *Ibid.*, referring to letter from Fiscal Caarloff, 12 January 1647 5 Roemer, p. 5

6 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', pp. 106–7, referring to W.I.C., C.C. 58, letter from J. Ruyschaver to Count Mauritz and Council in Brazil, 1 February 1643

7 Roemer, pp. 5 and 6

8 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire' p. 106 referring to V.G.K., Forrige Gouveneur paa Fortet Christiansborg Nicholas Fensman Bøger, entry for 19 October 1688

9 Akuapem tradition. See Appendix I.

10 Biørn, *Beretning*. The evidence from this report indicates that it was not only the people of Late that were forced to flee from Akwamu power, but also Adangme people, who, according to Biørn, became divided into three sections: 'Big and Little Schay (Shai) negroes, and Lay negroes'.

war of 1677–81. Archaeological evidence, according to Paul Ozanne,[1] reveals that types of tobacco-pipes found on the surface of Late Amanfro (the ruins of former Late settlement between Mamfe and present-day Late) are similar to those at the time of the destruction of Great Accra. Supported by a traditional account, he concludes that the inhabitants of Late moved to the present towns of Ahenease and Kubease in the face of Akwamu troubles. Finally, he assumes that 'Dawu is unlikely to have lived in peace during these years (1677–81). The assumption that it was in fact deserted at this time would fit all of the various circumstantial evidence that is available'.[2]

Thus one can propose that the expansion of Akwamu power over the Akuapem hills was a necessary step towards the defeat of Accra in 1677–81, since the ridge was Accra-dominated territory; and that this expansion, begun in 1646, was a mere economic blockade of Accra, and it was not until the time of the final overthrow of Accra in 1681 that Akwamu rule over the Akuapem hills became a reality. This assumption is consistent with documentary facts and traditions connected with Akwamu suppression of powerful centres among the Guan communities – the capture of a Bon chief,[3] the destruction of Abotakyi,[4] and refugees from Late in the face of Akwamu attack.[5]

The period of Akwamu rule over the hills has been described in general as 'one of great prosperity'.[6] This may be true in terms of trade with the Europeans along the coast. It was estimated that in the late seventeenth century one-third of the gold reaching the coast from the interior passed along the trade path through the hills.[7] Thus Akwamu control of this trade path apparently from 1646 onwards, to be confirmed by the defeat of Accra in 1677–81, led to the growing prosperity of this area.

The Akuapem contribution to this trade lay not only in Late being a great centre on the route, but, more important, in its abundant agricultural produce. Wilks believes that it was the gain in food supplies and manpower from the hills which enabled Akwamu to enter into the phase of extensive territorial conquest that followed their annexation of that country.[8] In 1788 A. Biørn, a Danish agent, described Akuapem as 'a well blessed land of corn and fruits'.[9] Meredith, writing later of the villages on the south-eastern hill-foot says in 1811:

> Agriculture is their chief support, and before the present war, they supplied Accra and Adampe with almost all the necessities of life: Akuapim was in fact the granary of these countries. . . . Their chief trade consisted of agricultural productions which always meet with a ready sale, and for which they received in return, salt, dried fish, gunpowder, iron, guns and cotton manufactures.[10]

If Akwamu rule did not seriously affect the hills as a great food producing area,

1 P. Ozanne, 'Early Historic Archaeology of Accra', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. VI, 1962, p. 123

2 *Ibid.* 3 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 102

4 Struck, 'Historisches über Akuapem', p. 2 5 See above.

6 I. Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 402 7 *Ibid.*

8 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 105

9 Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204

10 Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*, p. 227

it did affect the culture and perhaps the population of the area. On the credit side were the beginnings of the Akan political system and organisation.[1] Akwamu influence may also be reflected in the linguistic change which took place among some of the Guan communities discussed in the Introduction.

Quasi-documentary evidence of the adverse effect of Akwamu suzerainty over the Guan communities is, as it were, preserved in the change in pottery styles indicated by Thurston Shaw's excavation. He writes:

> The finds from the bottom of the mound may constitute some of the earliest dateable evidence for technique that has yet come to light in this part of West Africa. From the pottery in the lower part of the mound, too, one gets the impression of a lively and artistic and varied tradition tending to lose some of its vitality and variety with the passage of time.[2]

Though Ozanne does not agree with Shaw that Akwamu was directly responsible for this lowering of standards by introducing new styles as 'recent work on a small part of the Akwamu capital (Nyanaoase) has not given support to this – the style of ornament of bone combs, for instance, was the same as the earlier, not the later, style of Dawu' – he accepts the fact, however, that 'the changes in fashion at Dawu could seem to be results of the disturbance which Akwamu inflicted upon this area in the seventeenth century'.[3]

Akwamu suzerainty witnessed a period of disturbed conditions among the Guan communities. Probably the Akuapem hills were one of the main sources of the Akwamu supply of slaves to the European trading nations at Accra. Roemer had this to say about the rule of Akonno the Akwamuhene who succeeded Addo (1702–1725):

> Aqvando . . . permitted his people to steal and plunder both among themselves and the mountain Negroes and Adampees. But Accra must not be touched as they served as intermediaries in their trade with the Europeans. . . . Thus the precious slave trade in Accra flourished.[4]

It was not only by direct plunder that the Akwamu acquired people for the slave trade, but through the practice of treachery and chicanery. Roemer reports that the Akwamu king and his sub-chiefs kept a certain proportion of women in each town. These women were visited in the different towns once a year and they were asked on oath to confess the names of those men who had touched them. The victims of these practices would have imposed upon them heavy fines and when they were unable to pay they were sold into slavery or their friends would buy them their freedom. The women shared in the money that came out of this transaction.[5]

Oral traditions also have records of Akwamu misrule. The sources from *Anthropos*[6] record that the Akwamuhene was so heartless that he destroyed men

1 The introduction of stools of the Akan type and the Akwamu contribution to this will be discussed and illustrated in Chapter 2.

2 Shaw, *Excavation at Da u*, p. 87

3 Ozanne, Review Article, 'Excavation at Dawu', by T. Shaw, *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. VI, 1962, p. 120

4 Roemer, pp. 14–15 5 *Ibid.* 6 See Struck.

with ruthlessness in which there was not the slightest pity. An instance of a story depicting his cruelty is worth narrating here:

> One day Ansa Sasraku[1] order all the Akuapem people to cut down bush, and they did as he ordered. But instead of thanking them . . he had an *aseredowa* [the smallest bird in West Africa] and pepper brought and when it was cooked, gave it to them. When the Akuapems did not eat it, he was angry, bound some of them and killed them, some he sold, and many more Akuapem women taken, brought to him and made his slaves.[2]

There are more of these stories of utter cruelty meted out not only to the men and women, but also to the old and sick and even to young children.

These definitely disturbed the Guan communities a great deal and these disturbances must have affected the culture and size of population of the Guan communities. The deterioration in pottery style must have been caused by the Akwamu rule; and Reindorf remarks that under the Akwamu yoke 'their number was largely diminished by incessant plunder, inroads, and emigration back to the East'.[3] There is very little chance of estimating the population of the Guan communities at this time. It was not until the 1780s that the first estimate of the population of the people of the Akuapem hills was made.[4] Anyhow, the effects of the slave trade on West Africa, as outlined by many historians, may help us to conclude that the Guan communities were also seriously affected not only in the loss of population, but more important in the loss of skill, decline of agriculture and lack of any sense of security. Perhaps this last factor – the lack of security – was the cause of the 'Akuw-apem' rebellion against the Akwamu rule during the short reign of Ansa Sasraku IV (1725–1730).[5]

In 1725 Akonno died.[6] His rule had been a very severe one for the Guan communities; and that of his successor, Ansa Sasraku IV, was almost intolerable.[7]

1 It seems in the Akuapem traditions that all the various Akwamu rulers (Ansa Asaraku III, Basua, Addo and Akonno) who held sway in the hills were called Ansa Sasraku. (See below for the notes on Ansa Kwao, Akonno's successor.)

2 Struck, p. 2

3 Reindorf, p. 86

4 Raunkiaer, *Laegen Paul Iserts Breve*, gives an estimate of the population of Akuapem in 1786 as 9000.

5 This man is generally called Ansa Kwao by Ivor Wilks. Akwamuhene and elders who gave the author the information for the Akwamu tradition (Appendix I) said they have no such name in their chiefs-list; and that the name of the Akwamuhene at the time of its overthrow was Ansa Sasraku. Hence the author designates him Ansa Sasraku IV. Perhaps Wilks' Ansa Kwao had come as a result of reducing the Danish version 'Ensserquao' to the accepted Akan form. Further, Akuapem tradition and Reindorf (p. 87), know him as 'Ansa Sasraku'. See also Ward, *A History of Ghana*, p. 114, n. 31. In correspondence (1970) with the author, however, Wilks makes an interesting suggestion. He is inclined to think that Ansa Kwao may have been the personal name and Ansa Sasraku the stool name. It does seem to him that the Accra gave their client rulers women in marriage. Considering the fact that the Akwamu stool had had connection with the Otublohum quarter of Dutch Accra since the last quarter of the seventeenth century, this is possible. Thus the appearance of the form Ansa *Kwao* rather than *Ɣaw* would not be particularly strange. Among the Ga the name for a Thursday-born child is *Kwao* instead of *Ɣaw* as among the Akan.

6 V.G.K., letter from Governor A. Suhm, Christiansborg Castle, Accra, 20 September 1725; Roemer gives this date as 1726. Perhaps this was a misprint. See also G. Nørregaard, *Edward Carstensens indberetninger fra Guinea 1742–1850*, Copenhagen 1964, p. 123.

7 Roemer, p. 10

Yet the Guan communities, though chafing under Akwamu rule, could do little to effect its overthrow. Most traditions on Akuapem history[1] seem to agree that the reason for their weakness was the chronic inability of the Guan communities to unite; the tradition in *Anthropos* sums it up in this way: 'Had the Akuapem people agreed with one another and given each other mutual support, the Akwamu people would not have been able to exercise their sovereignty over them'.[2]

However from 1725 onwards events moved quickly and brought an end not only to Akwamu sovereignty over the Akuapem hills, but also to the great empire which Ansa Sasraku III, Addo and Akonno had so laboriously built. The fall was sudden and the political changes that took place were far-reaching. The relevant events leading to the fall must be sought from both inside and outside the Akwamu state. The trouble began inside the Akwamu state. It was dynastic. In 1725 when Akonno died, his rightful heir was one Amu, his nephew, who, in 1711, had accepted the subordinate position of a broker or a resident representative of the Akwamu 'province' of Accra at Otublohum quarter.[3] His long stay of fourteen years outside Akwamu capital disqualified him, according to custom, as a candidate for the vacant Akwamu stool and his own nephew Ansa Sasraku (Wilks has Ansa Kwao) became the new Akwamuhene.[4] He was thus left in this subordinate position as a representative of the Akwamuhene at Accra. Amu, however, had to wait for his chance to make an attempt at securing the throne from Ansa Sasraku. He had even shown his loyalty to the new king when he took part in suppressing a revolt by the people of Berekuso against the king.[5]

By 1728 Ansa Sasraku had proved himself an injudicious ruler. He was probably more cruel in his punishments of his subjects than his predecessor, Akonno, had been.[6] He engaged about one thousand *siccadings*[7] for the purpose of catching slaves from among his subjects as well as from Accron and Agona,[8] nearby states in semi-dependent status to Akwamu. Roemer remarked that the king's most serious offence was that, to satisfy the maritime market for slaves, he did not scruple 'to steal (*Hill*) negroes from his own nation'.[9] The worst was the inhuman activities of his two nephews – Oten Abransamadu and Oten Agyare. These young princes 'practised the abominable custom of using the middle of the breasts of young women as targets' when they were trying their

1 See Struck, Reindorf, and oral traditions in Appendix I.

2 Struck, p. 2

3 I. Wilks, 'Akwamu and Otublohum: An eighteen Century Akan Marriage Arrangement', *J.I.A.I.*, Vol. XXIX, 1959, pp. 391–404. See also Nørregaard, pp. 125–6.

4 *Ibid.* The reasons for the disqualification have been fully discussed by Wilks in the article above. He also has a detailed discussion on the system of Akwamu succession in the early eighteenth century.

5 V.G.K., letter from Willemsen, Christiansborg to Company, Copenhagen, 10 February 1728; Nørregaard, p. 126. Amu is here described by the Danish writer as a cunning caboceer (chief).

6 Roemer, p. 14

7 *Siccadings*, a word used in the eighteenth century to mean the men engaged in obtaining the 'black gold' as slaves were termed. *Sika*, a Twi word meaning 'gold' and 'ding' may also come from another Twi word *dum*, meaning 'dark' or 'black'. This shows the new trend of the slave trade in the eighteenth century: a means of obtaining gold by selling African slaves. See M. Johnson, 'The Ounce in Eighteenth-Century West African Trade'.

8 Roemer, p. 34

9 *Ibid.*

new guns.[1] The weakness of Ansa Sasraku in failing to check these atrocious activities of the princes led to his incurring the hostility of his subjects in the Akuapem hills; this gave Amu the opportunity of inciting them to rebellion in an attempt to secure the throne on which he had long cast envious eyes.

Yet Amu did not act immediately. Further developments took place which aided and perhaps justified his cause. The activities of the princes became too much to bear and the Akwamu sub-chiefs urged Ansa Sasraku to stop them.[2] The princes were thus sent to the Dutch at Accra to be kept in custody and to be taught a lesson for some time. These men committed suicide apparently with razors they had ordered their wives to bring to them when they brought them food.[3] Whatever the cause for the death of the princes, the matter was not properly handled by the Ansa Sasraku. Though the Dutch accepted no direct responsibility for the deaths, they were prepared to offer compensation and pay for the cost of the burial.[4] Ansa Sasraku appeared first to have accepted the Dutch offer, but after pressure from one of his sub-chiefs, Amega, he began to press the matter rather injudiciously.[5] He thereupon made a claim on Jacob de la Planque (the Dutch factor at Accra) to pay him, the king, 2000 bendas.[6] This was considered to be unreasonable and rejected by the Dutch factor. Ansa Sasraku threatened war.[7] De la Planque, therefore, called a meeting of all the caboceers of Dutch Accra including Amu to consider the Akwamuhene's threat. They all declared immediately in support of the Dutch company against the Akwamu.[8]

Amu's position, which has been discussed in some detail by Wilks,[9] is very vital in this situation. The Dutch feared him, because he understood their strategy, and as a subordinate of Ansa Sasraku, he represented the Akwamu interest in Dutch Accra. Just a year before he had shown his loyalty to Ansa Sasraku in the war against Berekuso. But this time Amu changed sides dramatically because, perhaps, he now saw clearly his chance of getting the throne, knowing very well the strength of the Dutch and being sure that Ansa Sasraku would lose the battle. Thus while the Dutch Company and most of the Accra caboceers were

1 Reindorf, p. 88. This story is confirmed by the Akwamu tradition collected by the author. See Appendix I.

2 Akuapem traditions, information recorded on tape from the Akwamuhene, Nana Kwafo Akoto II. See Appendix I.

3 See Reindorf; also Dutch records: Diaries and Correspondence, *Furley Collections*, 25 April 1734. In this document some Accra chiefs narrate the causes of the war with Akwamu. This Dutch source gives only one prince who was alleged to have been murdered by a slave also in custody. Ivor Wilks believes that Amu conspired in this murder plan in order to rid himself of a rival claimant to the Akwamu stool on the death of Ansa Sasraku III. See Wilks, 'Akwamu and Otublohum', p. 89. An oral tradition, however, appears to confirm that it was the Accra wives of these princes who brought the razors which they used to commit suicide. Anon., *Native Reports in Tshi*, Akropong 1913, p. 4

4 *Furley Collection*, 25 April 1734

5 V.G.K., letter from Willemsen Christiansborg, 10 February 1728

6 *Furley Collection*, 25 April 1734; also V.G.K., letter from Willemsen Christiansborg, 10 February 1728. 2000 bendas equalled 4000 oz.—approx. £16,000. Information from M. Johnson in correspondence with the author.

7 *Furley Collection*, 25 April 1734 8 *Ibid.*

9 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, pp. 90–1

joined in an alliance to dispel the Akwamu threat, Amu must have had his secret ambition of overthrowing Ansa Sasraku from the stool and clearing the way for himself.

His immediate plan has been described in some detail by Waeroe, the Danish governor of the Christiansborg Castle, Osu.[1] Amu collected taxes from his Accra quarter on the pretext of protecting them from Akwamu invasion. He visited the Akuapem hills and used the money to bribe the Akwamu subjects of Berekuso, Aburi and Late into rebellion on his side.[2] The fact that Berekuso, Aburi and Late supported the rebellion is significant – all the Guan communities might have been expected to give whole-hearted support. Berekuso had already shown signs of revolt, as mentioned above, on the accession of Ansa Sasraku; and Danish records[3] also mentioned troubles the new king of Akwamu was facing at home. Aburi tradition describes the quarrel between Ansa Sasraku and the people of Aburi, led by his nephew Opon Tenten, followed by a skirmish in which the latter was killed.[4] Late, perhaps, in 1730 still remembered the sack of their village in 1679.

War started in 1729. The first phase may be termed 'civil war' or an internal rebellion of the Akwamu subjects led by Berekuso, Aburi, Late and Dutch Accra under the leadership of Amu, outwardly imbued with the desire of overthrowing the tyrannical rule of Ansa Sasraku but secretly with a design on the stool. The second phase, which began in mid-1730 with the entry of the powerful enemies of Akwamu state, particularly Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Abuakwa,[5] into the war, may be called a 'war of liberation' for the Guan communities.

As Wilks rightly pointed out (though the author does not agree with his contention that the Hill people enjoyed a *pax Akwamu* under earlier Akwamu rulers) the early phase of the war was merely a revolt against the rule of Ansa Sasraku. He writes:

> When Ansa Kwao succeeded to the stool of Akwamu, the Hill peoples suffered severely from the depredations of the slave raiders whom the king tolerated and even encouraged. They were therefore among the first to support Amu . . . in his bid to usurp the stool, and constituted the main body of the rebel army, the Akuw-apem.[6]

The immediate cause of the war – the death of the princes – took place in 1728, but it was not until late 1729 that actual war broke out. The reasons are not difficult to find. In the first place there was some time spent in the obsequies of the princes. Secondly, Ansa was not at first much disturbed about the episode, but he changed his attitude when Amega, the ruler of Akwamu province of Lakoku, tried to force him to demand an explanation of the death.[7] The Akwamuhene, as a

1 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Christiansborg, Waeroe to Company, 30 August 1730

2 *Ibid.*

3 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Christiansborg, Suhm to Company, 14 March 1726

4 Akuapem tradition. See Appendix I.

5 V.G.K., Waeroe to Company, 15 May 1730

6 Wilks, 1959, 'Akwamu and Otublohum', p. 104

7 V.G.K., Willemsen to Company, 10 February 1728. *Native Reports in Tshi* says that 'the king did not say anything about this matter until a year after'.

result, changed his attitude and began to make unreasonable demands; finally he sent messengers to the Dutch factor, de la Planque, stating that

> as soon as the funeral celebration for his deceased nephew was over he would come to Accra in person and overthrow the Dutch town and fort and send the factor and all his subordinate whites to the next world.[1]

Thirdly, the delay of Ansa Sasraku's action was due to the fear of the attitude of Akyem Abuakwa, if he went to war with Accra. In 1727, King Ofori of Akyem Abuakwa had died and 'Ansa Sasraku was not sure of the new king's intention'.[2] Thus in 1727 when Amega had faced a revolt in his province and ran to the Akwamu capital to seek aid, Ansa Sasraku refused,[3] because he had to keep his forces intact and ready for any action if Akyem Abuakwa were to strike. This fear of Akyem was perhaps the chief reason that delayed the Akwamu attack on Dutch Accra until 1729. The threat from Akyem Abuakwa did not mature immediately, and the two Akyem states did not enter the war until the middle of 1730. This was because the Akwamuhene was able to persuade the Fante to withdraw from an alliance which Akyem Kotoku was building to attack Akwamu (it was an envoy, Kwasi Adu, sent by Akwamuhene, who negotiated this with the Fante)[4]; and also the two Akyem states feared what Asante might do, if they went to war against Akwamu.

The first phase of the war and the part of the Hill negroes is summed up as an attempt to transfer 'allegiance from Ansa Kwao, whose depredations they had suffered, to Amu, another member of the royal family whom they hoped to see established on the throne and whose rule they anticipated would prove milder'.[5] The Hill negroes were proved wrong. The situation degenerated into a general war. Late in 1729 and early in 1730 a number of battles were fought between the rebel and the loyal forces, but neither side secured any clear advantage.[6] However, late in September, 1729, the Hill negroes were defeated by Ansa Sasraku.[7] This defeat had double effects. In the first place, it led to the fatal decision of calling for the help of Akyem Abuakwa the long standing enemy of Akwamu (and the entry of Akyem Kotoku in the war). Secondly, it led to defections from Amu's forces. Aburi tradition asserts that they, like Asamankese, the former Akwamu capital, remained neutral in the next phase of the war.

Before discussing the next phase of the war, it will be appropriate to mention that perhaps too much has been attributed by Wilks to Amu in the work of 'liberation' of the Hill people, and this has overshadowed the activities of another personality whose name is current in Akuapem traditions. The traditions know one Ofei Kwasi Agyeman as a reputed leader of the Guan communities in the early part of the war; further it is believed that it was he who suggested the solicitation of Akyem support, and it is also asserted that as a result of the part he

1 *Furley Collection*, 25 April 1734

2 V.G.K., Pahl to Company, 14 April 1727 3 *Ibid.*

4 V.G.K., Kamp to Company, n.d. but in the packet marked 'V.G.K. 1722–31' Nr. 122

5 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 93

6 V.G.K., Waeroe to Company, 30 August 1730 7 *Ibid.*

played he was compensated with the office ranking second after the Okuapemhene, when the new state was established.[1]

Who is this Ofei Kwasi Agyeman? According to Wilks, Akwamu tradition asserts that Ofei Kwasi Agyeman was a chief whose seat was at Adenya (now a small village on the Mamfe-Koforidua road) from where he ruled over the Guan people of Late-Ahenease and Kubease as well as over the Kyerepon people.[2] Almost all the Akuapem traditions say that he was a chief of Gyakiti.[3]

It is possible to reconstruct the career of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman from Reindorf's version, and the traditions of Akuapem, and to assume that he may have ruled the Kamana people whose ancestors the Guan communities had driven before them in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They had then settled along the banks of the Volta north-east of the Guan communities with Gyakiti as the centre of the dynasty of which Ofei Kwasi Agyeman had become the head in about 1730. With the outbreak of the revolt of the Guan communities, he had come to their aid when he was called upon.[4] When they were defeated in the first phase of the war, he had suggested that the help of Akyem Abuakwa should be solicited.[5] When victory finally came to the Guan communities and their Abuakwa allies, and the Akwamu escaped across the Volta, the latter began a series of wars with the Kamana people on the banks of the Volta.[6] It is probable that because of this Ofei Kwasi Agyeman did not go back to Kamana, but sought refuge in the Hills, and was given land at Adenya and accorded recognition of the part he had played in the war of liberation by being made Kurontihene of the Akuapem State.[7] He and his followers were first settled at Adenya after the fall of Akwamu power, at an early stage during which the new (Akuapem) state was being organised, in the same manner as the Akyem overlords were first settled at Amamprobi, before moving to the present site of the capital at Akuropon.[8]

Perhaps Wilks has confused this Ofei Kwasi Agyeman of Gyakiti with another leader almost of the same name, Ofei Agyeman of Aburi tradition, who became the third centre chief in the Akuapem State when it was established. He writes:

1 Akuapem tradition. See Appendix I. This part of the Akuapem tradition, collected by the author, was obtained from Nana Boafo Ansa III, occupant of Ofei Kwasi Agyaman stool at Akuropon.

2 Wilks, 'Akwamu and Otublohum', pp. 112–13

3 Gyakiti is a town on the west of the Volta, in the present-day Akwamu State. Prior to Akwamu arrival in the area at the end of 1730, Gyakiti, the principal town of the Kamana people, was independent. According to Akwamu tradition, collected by the author, it was conquered and incorporated into the Akwamu state in the 1730s.

4 Akuapem tradition. See Appendix I.

5 *Ibid.*; information recorded on tape from the present occupant of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool.

6 Akwamu tradition recorded on tape by the author.

7 One informant told the author in a conversation recorded on tape that Ofei Kwasi Agyeman was a refugee from Gyakiti carrying his stool with him. Nana Boafo Ansa III, Kurontihene of Akuapem, and occupant of Ofei Kwasi's stool, says at the end of the war that the Hill people requested him and his followers to remain, as they did to the Akyem Abuakwa war captains.

8 Akuapem tradition, conversation recorded on tape with Nana Boafo Ansa III. See Appendix I. The author, in a conversation with a number of people who know Akuapem tradition, had the impression that the distribution of offices and for that matter the setting up of the new state had been a gradual process over a number of decades.

> Amu, as we have seen, drew his main support from the Hill peoples, but it is not clear whether the Akwamu of Aburi area, who were subjects of a royal Abrade clan stool, fought with him or not. Aburi traditions assert that they remained neutral like Asamankese. Ofei Kwasi Agyeman, on the other hand, a reputed ruler of the Guan and Kyerepon under Ansa Kwao, must certainly have supported the rebel leader though it seems likely that it was sections of his forces that in the course of fighting, renounced the cause of the Akuapem and returned allegiance to Ansa Kwao. Indeed, the stool family itself appears to have rent in two, one part supporting the rebels and surviving to this day in the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool of Akwapim, and the other part returning allegiance to Ansa Kwao, escaping across the Volta on the death of that king . . . the latter stool supplies the Nifahene of Akwamu.[1]

It rather seems, though there is no contemporary evidence to this effect, it was a section of the men of this Ofei Agyeman of Aburi who either returned allegiance to Ansa Sasraku III of Akwamu or remained neutral in the second phase of the war. To this day, Aburi has contact with Akwamu and supplies heirs to the stool of the Nifa (right wing) division of the present-day Akwamu state. As already mentioned, the author had occasion to witness the swearing of an oath of allegiance ceremony of a new chief of Pese (who rules Nifa division of Akwamu) in the Akwamu capital. The new chief was said to have come from Aburi, where he had for a long time been residing and was only called upon to ascend his ancestor's stool.[2]

Aburi tradition, confirmed by that of Akwamu, has it that before the outbreak of the rebellion of the Hill communities and its sequel, the Akan section of Aburi had been on uneasy terms with Ansa Sasraku IV. Led by Opon Tenten, a prince of the Aburi stool and a nephew of Ansa Sasraku, they revolted and took up arms against Nyanaoase. In the skirmish which ensued Opon Tenten was killed and his position was taken by Ofei Agyeman who became the ruler of the Aburi, and led them in the early phase of the civil war against Akwamu.[3]

The defeat of the rebel forces under Amu and Ofei Kwasi Agyeman late in 1729 and early 1730 led to their withdrawal, pursued by the Akwamu army, to Accra. For in May 1730, Waeroe, the Danish Governor, reported that the Danes (who had remained neutral in the war) were being attacked by Dutch Accra, and had therefore asked for Akwamu assistance. But Ansa Sasraku's men had to 'return home because of the fear of Akyem'.[4] A Dutch report, four years later, on the events of 1730, on the other hand, accused the Danes of providing cover from their gunfire from Christiansborg Castle for the Akwamu army which besieged Dutch Accra for three to five weeks.[5]

1 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, pp. 112–13

2 Aburi has not been alone in this practice. Other towns in Akuapem, such as Mamfe do supply heirs to some subordinate stools in present-day Akwamu State. Outside Akuapem, the Akwamuhene, Kwafo Akoto II, stressed in an interview recorded on tape, that Akwamu still maintains certain customary connections with such towns as Asamankese and Akwatia. For instance, he said Akwamu is informed of the death and choice of a ruler and the Akwamuhene sends a delegation for the occasion.

3 Akwamu tradition recorded on tape. Interview with Nana Osae Djan II, Aburi, Adontenhene of Akuapem State. See also Reindorf, p. 87; Djan, *The Sunlight Reference Almanac*, p. 108.

4 V.G.K., Waeroe to Company, 14 May 1730.

5 *Furley Collection*, 25 April 1734

Whatever the truth in these counter accusations by the European trading companies, it is clear that by early 1730, an Akwamu force was able to reach Accra, and that Ansa Sasraku had succeeded in temporarily suppressing the rebellion on the ridge.

The Akwamu forces soon withdrew from Accra back to Akwamuland.[1] This may have given a breathing space to the rebel forces to re-organise themselves. For Waeroe reports that 'the Accra negroes and the Hill negroes had eaten fetish to beat the Akwamu' and that the Hill negroes had adopted the name 'Akuw-apem' (thousand companies).[2] It is probable that it was at this stage that a deputation was sent to Akyem for military assistance. Akuapem traditions on the other hand say it was at a meeting held at Abotakyi that the decision to seek aid from Abuakwa was taken. The names of the members of the delegation sent to Ofori Panyin of Akyem Abuakwa are still remembered in Akuapem traditions.[3]

The entry of Akyem into the war must not be considered as due only to the invitation from the rebel forces. This was only a cue, as it were, for them to play their part. For, as Otutu Bagyiri IV of Abiriw rightly pointed out in conversation, the war was not one in which one group could claim it fought to liberate another. While it can be said that the Guan communities and the Accra were definitely fighting to liberate themselves from the Akwamu yoke, the two Akyem states entered the war with a motive of territorial aggrandisement.[4] The Agona and the Accron had not forgotten Akwamu chicanery after the Accra war of 1677–81 when the latter paid them chests of rough stones instead of chests of gold for their military service.[5] The background to the entry of Akyem Abuakwa and Kotoku must now be examined.

Who were these Akyem Abuakwa people? The beginnings of Akyem Abuakwa are rather obscure. By the early seventeenth century, it was already known as 'Akim' or 'Grent Akany'[6] lying in the region west and north-west of Akwamu state. The name Akyem, according to Reindorf, derived from the inhabitants being great salt traders (*Nkyenefo* or 'salt people') between the coast and Asante.[7]

By the early eighteenth century records from Dutch and Danish sources

1 V.G.K., Waeroe to Company, 16 May 1730

2 *Ibid.*, 30 August 1730. This is significant, for the name 'Akuw-apem' (the 'w' later elided to become 'Akuapem') originated from here. However, as it has been pointed out, the name was not mentioned again in the records of the European trading companies until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

3 Akuapem tradition, Appendix I. Though it was Bakwante who was ruling in Akyem Abuakwa at the time (see below), for Ofori Panyin ('Affory' of Dutch and Danish trading companies' records) died in 1727. The use of the name Ofori Panyin in the traditions is not an uncommon expression among the Akan, as he was occupying a stool of which Ofori was a common family name.

4 There are numerous entries in both Dutch and Danish records right from the beginning of the eighteenth century of definite or intending Akyem attacks on Akwamu border towns. And as Wilks points out in 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire' (p. 102) there is a series of impressive earthwork fortifications surviving on both sides of the Birim to show Akwamu attempts to stop Akyem aggression on its western frontier.

5 Roemer, p. 6

6 Map 743 of Leupen Collection, State Archives, The Hague, 25 December 1629. This should be distinct from Acany which was Assin (Wilks, 'The Northern factor in Asante History', p. 5) and Akan north of Great Akany, which is believed to be Adanse.

7 Reindorf, p. 61

mention two Akyem States: it is not clear from these sources whether these were Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Abuakwa, they vaguely talk of 'chiefs of Akim'. In 1716, the records definitely mention two rulers of the two sections: Abuakwa under 'Affory' (Ofori) and Kotoku under 'Apintin'.[1] The third Akyem state, the present-day Bosome, is not mentioned until much later in the eighteenth century.[2] Traditions of the three Akyem states trace their origin from Adanse; however, they had not all come to their present areas at the same time. It was the dynasty of Akyem Abuakwa which, as a result of a rift between the Asona royals and pressure from Denkyira, first left Adanse under their leader Kuntukununku and built the first capital at Banso, near Kyebi (Kibi) where the present capital is situated.[3]

Here, the Akyem Abuakwa had exhibited themselves as great traders in gold and slaves with the European forts. In 1709 the English factor at Cape Coast, Dalby Thomas, writing to the Royal African Company in London described Akyem as 'a rich country [which] lyes mostly on the backside of the Quamboes [Akwamu] and Unguinea [Agona] and are hindered by them from making the trade they would do'.[4] The Dutch and the Danes also were bitterly complaining of how the Akwamu-Akyem wars hindered trade from Akyem.[5]

As the Asante power grew in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Abuakwa found themselves constricted between Asante in the north-west and Akwamu in the south-west, two closely allied states. One result was the incessant Akyem pressure upon the Akwamu frontier that so disconcerted the Akwamu kings throughout the imperial period. As a result of this Asante pressure and also the Akyem desire to get as much direct share as possible of the trade on the coast with the Europeans, the first three decades of the eighteenth century were a period of incessant Akyem-Akwamu conflicts which ultimately led to the entry of Akyem into the war between Akwamu and its rebel subjects and the destruction of Akwamu power west of the Volta. Before and after the Asante-Denkyira war of 1699–1701 in which Akyem forces had taken part as an ally of the Denkyira and in which they lost considerable men,[6] most of the Akyem conflicts up to 1717 were with Akwamu in which neither gained nor lost. However, on most occasions it was Akwamu which had some of its villages in the north-west attacked, plundered or overrun by Akyem Abuakwa.[7]

The last Akyem-Akwamu conflict before the war of 1729–30 was in 1716, but

1 W.I.C. correspondence, Assembly of *Tribal Rulers 18th Century* (*Incomplete*)

2 Ward, p. 110

3 K. Ameyaw, 'Traditions of Kwaben' and 'Traditions of Akim Oda', I.A.S. Acc. no. K.A.G./10 June 1965 and K.A.G./7 January 1966 respectively. See also Ward, p. 110. Kotoku traditions talk of the sojourn of their royal house in Ahuren and Denkyira until the latter was conquered by Asante. Akyem Abuakwa was already established by the time of, and took part in, the Asante-Denkyira War c. 1699–1701. See also Akuapem tradition, information from Okyeame Boafo, Appendix I.

4 T.70/175, Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company, 26 November 1709.

5 V.G.K., Dag-Journals fra Christiansborg entry for 1 November 1704; letter (extract) from Dir. Gen. H. Haring, Fiscal Van de Poole and Councillors to Assembly of W.I.C., 102 fol. 573, 12 April 1716

6 Bosman, p. 76

7 V.G.K., Trane to Company, 23 February 1700. See also J. K. Fynn, pp. 47–8 and Wilks, p. 117 referring to V.G.K. Dag-Journals 1698–1703 entries for 10 October 1699 for more serious Akyem-Akwamu conflicts during which Akyem sacked three Akwamu towns and took about 100 men prisoners.

this was short-lived,[1] and it appears from the records that from 1717 onwards until the death of Ofori Panyin of Akyem Abuakwa in 1727, there was a period of Akyem-Akwamu rapprochement. The reason for the end of the hostility of 1716 in which the two Akyem states were involved against Agona, Akwamu and the Akron[2] was that the Asante threatened to enter the war to aid the Agona who had requested their aid.[3] This Asante threat provided the opportunity Apenten of Kotoku had wished for. In 1715 he preferred an attack on Asante rather than Ofori's designs on Agona and Akwamu.[4]

The Asante-Akyem war took place in 1717. Though it was an Akyem victory, 'Apintin (the) caboceer was killed in (the) war with Ashanti'.[5] Yet it was a great disaster for the Asante, because it was in this battle that the great Osei Tutu lost his life.[6] This disaster for Asante had perhaps been partly caused by the Akwamu-hene. It is believed that he had betrayed the line of movement of Asante troops to the Akyem.[7] Thus the period of Akwamu-Akyem rapprochement can be said to have begun in 1717. On the other hand, though Opoku Ware of Asante, the grandnephew and successor of Osei Tutu, did avenge the Akyem disaster early in the 1720s, it appears that by 1724 the period of Akyem-Akwamu rapprochement was coming to a close, and there was an attempted Akyem-Asante alliance to check Akwamu.[8] It is therefore not difficult to see from the events of 1717 why Asante did not raise a finger to save its former friend and ally Akwamu[9] from the danger which faced it in 1729–30.

The two Akyem states delayed their attack on Akwamu partly for fear of the Fante who had been friendly with Akwamu; hence Akyem Kotoku hesitated to commit its main body to the war until the attitude of the Fante was known.[10] There was also the fear of Asante who might have come to the aid of Akwamu because of the friendship between the two states in the days of Osei Tutu.[11] However, as has been pointed out above, there had been a lapse in this friendship. Eventually these fears were allayed. Frempon Manso, ruler of Akyem Kotoku, was able to buy the Fante off in gold to secure their neutrality.[12] With the Asante both Akyem states succeeded in patching up an agreement. The latter promised

1 W.I.C. 102, fol. 573, letter (extract) from Hering *et al.* to Assembly, 12 April 1716

2 *Ibid.* 3 Fynn, p. 108 4 Fynn, pp. 106–7

5 W.I.C. Correspondence, *Tribal Rulers*, p. 9. It is recorded that 'Affory, head chief defeated the Ashanti in October 1717'.

6 M. Priestly and I. Wilks, 'The Ashanti Kings in the Eighteenth Century: a revised chronology', *J.A.H.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, 1960, p. 88; also Fynn, p. 129.

7 M. Priestley and I. Wilks

8 Fynn, p. 131, referring to a Dutch report, W.I.C. 105, letter from I. Beune, 8 January 1724

9 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', pp. 127–8, points out that Asante-Akwamu friendship had existed since the days of Osei Tutu with occasional lapses until 1886, when the latter accepted the British flag. Perhaps the period 1717–1730 was one of the occasional lapses; another was during the 'Battle of Akatamansu 1826' when Akwamu took the side of the allies against Asante. However, after the destruction of Akwamu power in 1730, there were rumours of Asante impending invasion of Akyem with the professed intention of Opoku Ware to restore the old Akwamu to their position of independence of the Akyem. The rumours became a fact in 1742, but did not change the situation in old Akwamu.

10 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 105, referring to V.G.K. 97, letter from Gawron at Apam, 10 July 1730

11 *Ibid.* 12 *Ibid.*

to pay Asante five hundred slaves; however, on condition, stressed by the Asantehene Opoku Ware, that these slaves should be sent within five months whether they had been successful in their war with Akwamu or not.[1]

Thus the Akyem entry into the war was not only a matter of being invited by rebel subjects. Like the French in the American war of independence some forty years later, the Akyem had been watching events in Akwamuland. They were determined to use their military strength to destroy Akwamu power and influence along the coast just as France wanted to destroy British influence in America. In Amu's invitation, Frempon Manso, Bakwante and Owusu, the rulers of Akyem Kotoku and Abuakwa respectively, saw their opportunity. The consequence was to alter the whole character of the war. Akwamu was now pitted against militarily powerful and determined enemies. Akwamu men and supplies had to be diverted from Accra and the ridge to deal with the Akyem threat, reinforced in 1730 by Agona and Assin.[2] For the first time in its history Akwamu was faced with a combination of military power sufficient to threaten the very existence not only of the Empire but of the Akwamu state itself.

It was Frempon Manso and his allies, the Assin and probably the Agona, who invaded Akwamu proper; Abuakwa's part in the war was assistance offered to the 'Akuw-apem' and the section of the Accra under Amu.[3] With the entry of the Akyem into the war, leadership of the combined rebel forces passed from the hands of Amu to an Akyem Abuakwa war-lord, Ofori Dua, also known as Ofori Kuma or Safori,[4] whose army combined with the rebel forces, and who at the end of the war, established an Akyem dynasty in the Akuapem state which was subsequently created.

Faced with this new situation, Ansa Sasraku decided to deal first with the rebels before the Kotoku army came in. The encounter with the 'Akuw-apem' was in mid-June 1730.[5] A fierce battle took place in which Ofori Dua was reported to have been a hero; some of the Akuw-apem chiefs left to join the Akwamu forces. As a result, the remaining rebel forces were defeated by Ansa Sasraku at the end of June 1730; many people were killed, and Ansa's messengers arrived in Accra with the jaw-bones of the dead chiefs.[6]

However, the situation changed. The Akyem Kotoku had now come in full force into the war having bought off the Fante. This was in September 1730.[7]

1 Roemer, p. 18

2 V.G.K., Waeroe *et al.* to Company, n.d. (probably May) 1730

3 Traditions on this war by the spokesmen from Aburi, Asamankese, Akwamu, Akyem, Kotoku, Adanse in the *Gold Coast Law Reports, Divisional Court, 1962–29*, and *Award in Asamangkese-Akim Abuakwa Arbitration, 1929*, London 1930

4 Akuapem tradition, Appendix I

5 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, pp. 104–10. Here the details of this second phase of the war have been fully described. Wilks depended for his information mainly on Dutch sources obtained from The Hague. K.V.G. 97, letters from Blittersdorp, Accra, 24 June 1730; 28 June 1730; and 12 July 1730; letters from Gawron, Apam, 15 July 1730; 11 August 1730; and K.V.G. 93, letter from Gawron, Apam, 23 September 1730. The Danes did not report in any detail on the war outside Accra. The reason for this is probably the neutrality which Waeroe, the Danish governor at Christiansborg, was trying to exercise. See V.G.K. Waeroe to Company, 24 December 1730.

6 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, pp. 104–5

7 V.G.K., Waeroe to Company, 24 December 1730. The information, however, reached the Danish agent in September 1730.

Ansa Sasraku had to meet the threat in the north-west and plunged into war with the Kotoku; an action which ended the war as well as the fortunes of the Akwamu up to this time. Roemer sums this up in the following words:

> As soon as Aquando [Ansa Sasraku] learned that the Akims were on the war-path against him, and that further Oppoccu had endorsed their action . . . in his madness, did not listen to his great men who advised him to wait, but marched on to meet the enemy in a region unknown to the Aquamboes. In their first battle and within 24 hours the Akims defeated them and took thousands of prisoners, Aquando's and his chief's heads. Their wives and children fled from their homes and tried to save themselves through escape.[1]

The rest of the Akwamu army escaped, being pursued in full force, across the Volta to found the new and present-day capital at Akwamufie, and to join the earlier refugees who had found their way there at the beginning of the war in 1729.[2] Roemer recorded that in all about five hundred families including not more than a thousand fighting men founded the new Akwamu state.[3]

Frempon Manso, the Kotokuhene, did not follow up his victory by pursuing the enemy forces far afield and beyond the Volta. There are good reasons for this. In the first place, he was still afraid of an Asante attack from the north and the five-month time limit was up, hence he and Bakwante had to settle their debt of five hundred slaves.[4] Secondly, relations with the Fante had not been cordial. Though the Fante agreed to be neutral, and did not offer the helping hand the Kotoku requested, they had been raiding and looting freely in the Akwamu land, and were asking Frempon to hand over to them a proportion of his booty.[5] Thirdly, Frempon Manso and the Abuakwa rulers – Bakwante and Owusu – may have been faced with the administrative problem of the former Akwamu territories, which had now suddenly become free. These included Aburi and the Guan communities in the hills; and also Accra, Ladoku and Asamankese.

Thus the Akwamu were left more or less free to organise themselves into a new state beyond the Volta. But their original Akwamu state and their territory in the Akuapem hills fell into the hands of the two Akyem states. The greatest beneficiary from the Akwamu property west of the Volta was the Akyem Abuakwa. They inherited the treasures of the Akuapem hills. Biørn wrote: 'In 1732, the Akanist were prosperous under three kings who divided the sea coast in this way: King Bang (Bakwante of Abuakwa) had dominion over the English and the Dutch forts and their subjects. King Frempung (of Kotoku) ruled Christiansborg and its subjects. King Ussue[6] (Owusu) ruled over Akuapem and Adampe lands.'[7] The boundaries were not immediately drawn, and the areas occupied by the Guan communities were definitely widened to include part of Old Akwamu state. In the south and south-west, Aburi came within the new

1 Roemer; also Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 109–10, referring to K.V.G. 93, letter from Gawron, Apam, 21 September 1730

2 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 110; Akwamu and Akuapem tradition, Appendix I

3 Roemer, p. 20

4 *Ibid.*; Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 111; Reindorf, p. 77

5 I. Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 111

6 The identity of Owusu will be examined in Chapter 3.

7 Biørn, p. 203

Akuapem state. The western boundary was extended towards the Densu and the northern boundary to the territory known as Kamana which had belonged to the Akwamu empire. The boundary on the east was ill-defined and it raised dispute with the Krobo in the late nineteenth century.[1]

Apart from this lucrative gain, the Abuakwa also obtained the largest section of the old Akwamu state. This, like the creation of the Akuapem State,[2] was not achieved immediately. Gradually, the following former Akwamu towns were flooded with Akyem settlers mainly from Abuakwa; Akanten, Akwatia, Apedwa, Apapam, Asafo, Asamankese, Kade, Kwaman, Kwantenan, Maase, Nkronso, Okyerease, Otumi and Tafo.[3]

The traditions of the history of Akuapem give credit for the creation of the new state to the leader of the Akyem contingent known as Safori, also known variously in the traditions as Ofori Dua or Ofori Kae or Ofori Kuma; according to tradition, he was the founder of the present-day Akuapem state in 1733. In the unrevised chiefs-list[4] Safori is followed by five other rulers who were also supposed to have occupied the Okuapemhene's stool before the accession of Sakyiama Tenten and Fianko Betuafo.

Some writers have expressed doubt as to the veracity of the chronology of the Akuapem rulers. C. C. Reindorf writes: 'from 1734–77 or the thereabouts nine kings had reigned at an average of not more than four or five years, if we admit the Akuapem traditions as correct'.[5] Wilks, though he carried this doubt a stage further, did not pursue it with a view to reconstruct the chronology. He only suggested that the origin of Safori or Ofori Dua or Ofori Kuma's stool must be sought from the seventeenth century.[6] He writes:

> The reconstructed account of the growth of the Akwapim state differs from the accepted version basically in the lengthening of time perspectives by its emphasis on the continuity of post-1730 with pre-1730 institutions. In point of detail this difference shows most clearly in the treatment of the Okuapemhene's stool. Safori, first occupant of the stool, has been relegated from the 1730 period to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and the origin of the stool has been linked not with the entry of Akyem Abuakwa into the war of 1729–30, but with the settlement of Akyems in the hill country of Akwapim about a century earlier.[7]

Wilks' only suggestion in his attempt to clear up this doubt is that

1 G. E. Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History*, London 1964, Freeling to Carnarvon, 29 May 1877, p. 389. See map of the present Akuapem State on p. 164.

2 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, pp. 112–13, gives the impression that the creation of the Akuapem State was deliberately planned by the Akyem rulers either during or after the war. An attempt will be made to revise this opinion in the next chapter.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 115

4 Fianko, *Twifo Amamuisem*, p. 95. See also Appendix I

5 This quotation is obtained from Wilks ('The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 407) who apparently got it from the first edition of Reindorf's *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, a copy of which the author has been unable to obtain. The edition used by the author is the one revised by his sons, C. J. Reindorf and C. E. Reindorf, and in which much of the information contained in the original edition has been left out.

6 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 406

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 405–7

> the Okuapemhene in 1730 was Sakyiama Tenten who is given in the Akwapim office lists as seventh or eighth occupant after Safori. . . . The foundation of this stool by Safori must, therefore, antedate 1730, though it was indeed in that year that Safori's seventh or eighth successor became first Okuapemhene.[1]

While the author agrees with the argument involved – that if Safori was the first Okuapemhene then the establishment of the stool must ante-date 1730 – he cannot accept the suggestion proposed by Wilks that the establishment must be linked 'with the settlement of Akyems in the hill country of Akwapim about a century earlier'. On the other hand, it is possible that some Akan elements, probably of Kamana origin, may have established themselves in the Akuapem hills during the seventeenth century, whose rulers may have been included in the folk lore on the occupants of the Okuapemhene's stool. This theory is supported by the names of the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth occupants of the unrevised list of the Okuapemhene's stool, all of which are names of Kamana or Akwamu affinities.[2]

Let us examine the evidence in an attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the Akyem Abuakwa war leaders who became the first occupants of the Okuapemhene's stool.

The average expectation of reign for the Okuapemhene's stool between 1826 and 1941, a period when proper and accurate dating can be obtained, works out approximately as fifteen years.[3] Even during this period there were many cases of destoolment.[4] If we assume that Safori was the first Okuapemhene, and that he founded the stool in 1730, the average expectation of reign as Reindorf has already pointed out, to the ninth chief, Kwapon Kyerefo, who died in 1765,[5] comes to approximately four years, which is very low indeed. On the other hand, if Sakyiama Tenten, slain in 1731, was the founder of the stool in 1730, the average expectation of reign to the death of Kwapon Kyerefo works out to about twelve years. In fact, Danish sources indicate that Sakyiama Tenten was ruling the Akuapem in 1731. Waeroe reported that:

> the Dutch Maeglen Amoe had on 27 November 1730 allied himself with Aquapim Cabusseer called Say Kyiama against the Aquamboe . . . but Cabusseer Amoe now withdrew himself from Aquapim Cabusseer and left for Ada, and the Aquapim Cabusseer with his men [were] totally killed by the Aquamboe.[6]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 407

2 After Safori, the following are the occupants involved before Sakyiama Tenten: Okyerema Manukure, Ofei Boa, Ofei Amenapa, Ofei Ntoakyerewa, Amaniafim. See Appendix I.

3 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 399

4 For instance, Addo Dankwa (1816–35) was deposed by the Danes and his successor Adum Tokori (1835–45) was exiled to Denmark. Early in the twentieth century, Kwasi Akuffo (1897–1907 and 1920–27) was deposed and brought back a second time; Ofori Kuma II also (1914–18) abdicated and was reinstated for the period 1932 to 1942.

5 Djan, p. 103

6 V.G.K., Waeroe and Council to Company, 25 March 1731; also Uldall Saml. Fol. Aarestrup Memorandum on the Danish-Dutch Disputes in Guinea, 130

In the face of this situation it is fairly plausible to suggest: that a stool of an Akan origin had been founded before 1730 in the Akuapem hills; that the occupants of this stool had borne the names of the first six rulers (excluding Safori) of Akuapem on the unrevised chiefs-list; that these might be chiefs of Kamana origin instead of Akyem as proposed by Wilks. Two sources of information throw light on this hypothesis. The reigning Kubeasehene told the author in a conversation that during the Guan period a small group of Twi settlers familiar with the Akan system of administration were given a portion of land between the Late and Awukugua people to serve as peace-makers and to prevent the frequent quarrels between them.[1] The aged Adontenhene of the Akuapem State was impressed by the names of the next four rulers after Safori, when this issue was brought up with him in a conversation. He remarked that those names are of Akwamu origin.[2] 'Manukure', the surname of the second ruler, and 'Ofei', the first name of the next three, are Akwamu names, he stressed. What is more important in the confirmation of this proposition is the fact that the name 'Ofei' is perpetuated in the names of occupants of the Kurontihene's stool in Akuapem today; that the first occupants of that stool were Kamana settlers in Akuropon; and that the present occupant traces his descent from present-day Akwamu.[3] It must be recalled that Ofei Kwasi Agyeman, from Gyakiti, then in an independent Kamana state, but now a town in the present-day Akwamu State, was created the first Kurontihene when the Akuapem state was set up. Reindorf writes:

> To reward the services given by Ofei Kwasi before the arrival of Safori, he was nominated the Manklalo,[4] or chief in general over the central force next in rank to the King.[5]

It can be further argued that the Akan settlers were Kamana and not Akyem; if they were Akyem, evidence would exist of some sort of link between Akyem Abuakwa and the Akuapem hills before the outbreak of the war; for instance, there might be evidence of Akyem Abuakwa intention to help their neighbours in the hills when the rebellion broke out. The entry of the two Akyem States into the War, as already noted, was a mere continuation of a long period of quarrels with Akwamu, and opportunity offered by the invitation of the Hill people. Moreover, Akuapem traditions record that the Hill people sought aid first from Ofei Kwasi Agyeman of Gyakiti, and that it was only after the failure of his contribution that the Akyem Abuakwa were invited. The fact that they appealed first to Ofei Kwasi instead of to the Akyem Abuakwa is significant. It is a pointer to the

1 Conversation with Nana Agyemfra V. Ohene of Late-Kubease

2 It is interesting to note that the Adontehene's stool of Aburi is a 'nephew' of the present-day Akwamu stool at Akwamufie. As already cited, Kamana is part of the present-day Akwamu State.

3 Conversation with Mr D. O. Bampoe, Deputy Librarian, University of Science and Technology, 1965. Mr Bampoe belongs to the Kurontihene's house in Akuropon. Also conversation recorded on tape with Nana Boafo Ansa III, Kurontihene of Akuapem. The occupants of the Kurontihene stool in Akuapem belong to the same clan as the Akwamu stool, as opposed to the clan of the Okuapemhene's stool, which is the same as that of Akyem Abuakwa stool.

4 'Manklalo' is a Ga word, and the office is the same as Kurontihene in the Akan system.

5 Reindorf, p. 90

fact that some sort of link already existed between the hills and Ofei Kwasi, and this link could only be provided by people of Kamana origin.[1]

If this assumption is accepted, the question which arises is: where were those Kamana people living in Akuapem? There is no doubt that these Akan settlers must have lived at Adenya which, according to Marion Johnson, 'may be the same as Nkwapranase of Akwapim tradition', and 'is remembered as the seat of a wing chief'.[2] Wilks mentioned this, though in a hesitating manner:

> It is uncertain whether Akwamu had previously brought the hill people into any sort of administrative unit. Akwamu tradition asserts that one Ofei Kwasi Agyeman, a chief whose seat was at Adenya, ruled over the Guan peoples (of Larteh Ahenease and Kubease, Odiha, etc.) and over Kyerepon (of Adukrom, Awukugua, etc.) and the tradition may well have a basis of fact.[3]

While there is no doubt that people of Kamana origin had settled at Adenya in the seventeenth century, the opinion already outlined above that the tradition of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman in Adenya may perhaps be best treated as belonging to the post-1730 period must now be stressed. Referring again to the map of 1629, it will be observed that the Kamana people seem to have been living west-north-west of the Guan people of Late; and it is probable that they had built a number of villages in the area of which Adenya or Nkwapranase was one. Perhaps, as a result of the expansion of Akwamu power in the area, some groups of the Kamana may have departed through Begoro and thence to the banks of the Volta and built Gyakiti, where Ofei Kwasi Agyeman's ancestors had built their dynasty.[4] Adenya may not have been completely deserted by the Kamana who may have mixed with some Akwamu settlers. It was they who may have called upon Ofei Kwasi Agyeman from Gyakiti who in turn was instrumental in seeking aid from Akyem Abuakwa.

It was after the war of 1729–30 that Ofei Kwasi Agyeman may have been made ruler of Adenya, from where he may have been given jurisdiction over the Guan communities[5]; later he was created Kurontihene and removed his seat to Akuropon.

1 M. Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', p. 11, referring to Reindorf's account suggests the existence of a 'large state, possibly the seventeenth century Kamana, probably closely associated with the Akwamu and driven, like Akwamu, to the Volta gorge'.

2 *Ibid.*, See also Akuapem tradition, Appendix I, information recorded on tape from Nana Boafo Ansa III, occupant of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool. He says the Kamana people had lived in the area between the Densu, through where modern Adawso is (on the Mamfe-Koforidua motor road) and Adenya. He says there is still a village called Kamana near Adenya.

3 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, pp. 112–13

4 Mr D. O. Bampoe told the author in a conversation that to this day his father and uncles who are descendants of the Ofei Kwasi's family own the land in and around Adenya. This is confirmed by Nana Boafo Ansa III, Kurontihene of Akuapem.

5 For distribution of power among the divisional chiefs of present-day Akuapem see 'Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Governor of the Gold Coast to investigate the propriety of the re-installation of an ex-Omanhene Nana Kwame Fori II, 1952'. Nana Otutu Bagyiri IV of Abiriw pointed out that the growth of the power of Akyem dynasty in Akuapem was gradual and the distribution of offices was not made immediately. The same point was made by Nana Kwafo Akoto II of Akwamu that a re-assignment of duties and responsibilities was made by Ofori Kuma II in 1932. By way of illustration, in old Akwamu, that is the former Akwamu state west of the Volta now part of Akyem Abyakwa, it was not until 1773 that the Akwamu chiefs swore an oath of allegiance to Ampofo, Abuakwahene, recognising him as their paramount chief, and letting their towns be integrated into the Akyem Abuakwa state. See Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 135.

This may have a basis of fact, for it is clear from the traditions of Akuapem that the distribution of offices was not done immediately. As will be examined in the next chapter, it was a gradual process lasting well into our own days. Oheneba Sakyi Djan recorded 'Ofei Kwasi Agyemang I, the first Mankrado who had a title affixed to his position as "*Akoamawo* (*hene*) *se*" (redeemers' leader) for whom a stool was created by Nana Kwapon Kyerefo, a late Omanhene of Akuapem (died 1765)'.[1]

In the light of these facts and hypotheses there is need for a revision of the chiefs' list of the Okuapemhene's stool; and the position of 1826 occupant in the list made by Wilks[2] should be changed from the fourteenth to the eighth. Perhaps Safori may not have existed at all, or he might be one and the same war lord as Sakyiama Tenten who was killed with a large body of his troops while pursuing Akwamu forces beyond the Volta in 1731; or *Sa Fori* (meaning Warrior Fori) might be a mere appelation or praise name, not uncommon among the Akan, for Sakyiama; and *Ofori Kuma* could mean that he belonged to the collateral branch of the Ofori or Kuntukununku stool of Akyem Abuakwa.

A genealogy of the Akuapem royal household[3] makes no provision for Manukure, the Ofeis and Amaniafim, the next five rulers after Safori. It mentions Safori and the next are Sakyiama and Fianko Betuafo, the seventh and eighth successors in the unrevised list. Again the list of the occupants of the heir-apparent stool (Akonnuakumaso Atrafo)[4] shows Fianko Betuafo and Sakyiama Tenten as the first two occupants; no mention is made of the earlier rulers of the Okuapemhene's stool.[5] This goes a long way to suggest that these earlier rulers belong to a Twi or an Akan dynasty of Kamana origin which has been established during the Akwamu period from the middle of the seventeenth century in the country west of the Akuapem hills, and that it played a principal role in the rebellion against the central authority at Nyanaoase, and for this the new overlords of Akyem Abuakwa origin rewarded its services with the rank of second-in-command to the Okuapemhene's stool.

It is believed that after the Akyem victory over Asante in 1717, some members of the royal Asona clan of Abuakwa left Banso and founded Akyem-Akuropon, Apinaman, Kukurantumi, Osino and Pamen.[6] This oral tradition is an interesting point, because the founders of the Okuapemhene's stool in 1733 claim direct relation to the Abuakwa paramount stool, and they named their new capital after the town they came from in Abuakwa. The genealogy of the Akuapem Royal Household[7] traces the descent of the first occupants as follows: Gyareago, the

1 Djan, p. 103

2 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 395. In this paper, Wilks gives a list of occupants of some of the Akuapem stools, noting the numerical position of 1826 holders. From this he has deduced statistically the approximate date of the beginning of the dynasty.

3 Appendix II; Djan, p. 143; Akuffo, pp. vii–viii 4 Fianko, p. 96

5 It should be noted when comparing Fianko's lists of occupants of Okuapemhene's stool and those of Sakyi Djan and the Rev. E. Samson, Sakyiama Tenten should precede Fianko Betuafo as Okuapemhene.

6 Ameyaw, 'Traditions of Kwaben (Akyem Abuakwa)', p. 2. Though he gives the date as 1733, and that the new towns were founded after the fall of Akwamu, it may be observed that he is still under the influence of the old date of Osei Tutu's death occurring in 1731. The foundation of Akyem Akuropon by a branch of the royal house must antedate 1730.

7 Appendix II. See also Akuffo, pp. vii–viii and Djan, p. 143.

direct niece of Kuntukununku who became the founder of the Abuakwa stool, had joined her uncle in the migration from Adanse to Akyem Abuakwa. There she married one Amoako and had issue of three sons and three daughters, Korama, Ayewa and Gyankorama. Korama's children included Ofori Panyin who occupied the Akyem Abuakwa stool, probably 'Affory' of the Dutch records,[1] who died in 1727.[2] Gyankorama married Amanin of Banso, then the capital of Akyem Abuakwa, and had issue of Aturukua and Aso Tema. She moved with her children and her uncle Safori or Ofori Kae or Ofori Kuma I who was deputed to aid the rebel forces fighting against Akwamu. Aso Tema had twin daughters, Ataa Agyapomaa; the younger married Sarkwa of Akwamu Pese and brought forth two daughters and two sons, Fianko Betuafo and Sakyiama Tenten, both of whom became Okuapemhene.[3] It can be suggested, therefore, that these two young men acted for Ofori Kuma or Ofori Kae or Safori, and did the actual fighting at the end of which they were requested, according to the tradition, to stay, and thus begin a new dynasty in a new state.

1 W.I.C. Correspondence, *Tribal Rulers of the 18th Century*.

2 V.G.K., Breve and dokumenter fra Christiansborg, Pahl to Company, 14 April 1727

3 Appendix I. In the words of the appellation of the state drums and horns for Fianko Betuafo, one can find some support for this assumption. The words are 'Fianko Betuafo: *Eti Brenkesee Safori nuabea ba*', literally meaning: 'Fianko Betuafo: Bushy hair, Safori's sister's son'.

CHAPTER TWO

The building of the Akuapem State

At the end of the war, with the expulsion of the Akwamu from their original home, the Akyem Abuakwa war lords found open to them a healthier, mountainous yet fertile, tract of land. In an age of swift movement of people looking for new lands and security from powerful enemies, particularly the rising power of Asante, the Akyem Abuakwa war leaders found the Akuapem hills a suitable area for their territorial aggrandisement.

More suitable to their ambitions, they found their neighbours politically loosely organized, but possessing qualities that could be organised into a potential state, and, more important, as a useful ally in their bid to counter the growing power of Asante under Opoku Ware. The conversion of the rebel organisation into a political association was inaugurated at a meeting of the various heads of the remnant communities held at Abotakyi.[1]

The war of 1729–30 had had one great effect. It had brought some unity among the various communities in the hills. The old-established Guan communities and the Akwamu settlers around Aburi had come together in their rebellion against Akwamu. The Guan communities had suffered considerable reduction in numbers during the war; firstly, they were decimated, as mentioned in the last chapter, by casualties they suffered at the hands of Ansa Sasraku in the early part of the war; and secondly, some fled their country as a result of the war. Oral sources recorded in *Anthropos* say that:

> The Late people whom the Akwamu had driven in front of them saw that the Akwamu had ceased to press them, built themselves a town and lived there, as they were willing to live in the eastern land . . . the Guan speech which their forefathers spoke is still with them today. And the names one hears in Late are still to be found today, if one goes to them.[2]

One may be inclined to assume that these refugees are by no means the present-day Anum and Boso communities; investigations, however, have to be made to confirm this assumption. Already in 1679 some Late refugees had found their way across the Volta, also in the face of Akwamu pressure.[3] Though this dispersion of

1 Akuapem traditions, Appendix I. See also Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 90. This meeting at Abotakyi and the decision taken for the acceptance of a dynasty from Akyem may be termed the 'concord of Abotakyi'.

2 Struck, 'Historisches über Akwapem', p. 3

3 Biørn, *Beretning*. M. Johnson suggests, in correspondence with the author, that these may be the Nkonya Guan. Her suggestion is based on the report of the Rev. Opoku (a Basel

some of the Guan communities of Late had the effect of reducing the population in the hills, the Kyerepon and those around Mamfe, Mampon and Tutu were only affected by the loss of men through the war. Together with the Akwamu remnants in Aburi and Ahwerease, and the new Akyem immigrants – the followers of the Akyem war lords – the hills could now command a considerable population.[1] These three groups, the old-established Guan communities, the Akwamu settlers and the newer Akyem immigrants were those who came together to form the Akuapem state.

The sources of information on the process of creation of the new state are mainly oral traditions, and from these it seems that two main factors led to the establishment of the political association as we see it today in the hills. In the first place, the Guan communities feared that the Akwamu might wish to come to reinstate their power over them. One source of the tradition says:

> Now when the Akuapem people saw that the Akwamu had fled, and they had no overlord, they feared that the proverb might be fulfilled – if you have no master, someone will seize you and sell you. So they sent messengers to Akyem and asked the king to look for someone to look after them. The Akyem king knew the Akuapem people were no proper people . . . because his grandson had fallen in war on their behalf and his army consumed, they should keep to themselves and he also. But the Akuapems sent further messengers to him. And the king again chose one of his grandsons.[2]

Certain conclusions can be made from this narrative. Firstly, that the Guan communities had realised the dangers in their loose form of organisation, and were now prepared to come into a union, politically organised on the Akan plan. The prestige of the Akan immigrants, particularly their part in the war, must have made a great impression on them, and induced them to emulate the institutions and customs of the newcomers.

Secondly, we can deduce that the newcomers may not have established themselves immediately after the war in 1730. Thus the published tradition that the new Akyem dynasty established itself in Akuapem in 1733 must now be accepted[3] with the reservation that from 1733 onwards the Akyem war lords began building the Hill people into the modern Akuapem State. It is possible, though, that some members of the Akyem army may have remained in Akuapem after the war; probably, impressed by the fertile soil and the healthy climate as well as the security afforded by the mountain fastness, they decided to make their new home

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missionary from Akuapem) in 1877, that he was welcomed at Nkonya as a brother because he came from Late. She says that tradition claims that they were in Akwamufie before the Akwamu arrived, and were driven further ahead to their present home.

1 P. Isert in 1788 put the figure of Akuapem population at 9000. See Isert, *Iserts Breve*, p. 163.

2 Struck, p. 3[a]

3 Djan, *The 'Sunlight': A Reference Almanac*, p. 102. See also, Akuffo, *Ahemfi Adesua*, p. vii; Anon, *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 36; Reindorf, p. 85. Danish and Dutch sources show that between 1731 and 1735 the Akyem states still had to make joint efforts to suppress the Akwamu power they had recently overthrown. V. G. K., Sekretprotokoller fra Christiansborg, 10 April 1731; *Furley Collections*, letter from Bercoe Roamir, 16 February 1732. By 1734 Akwamu power west of the Volta had been completely suppressed, and the Akwamu were now being chased on the east. V. G. K., 29 June 1734. See also Biørn, p. 203.

on the ridge. Thirdly, we can suppose that the Akyem war lords had no plan to create a new state in the Akuapem hills before or during the year immediately following the defeat of Akwamu. Wilks' assertion that 'Frempon Manso, Bakwante and Owusu decided upon the creation of a new state in the hills',[1] must thus be rejected. The two Akyem states – Kotoku and Abuakwa – were reported to have been on uneasy terms after the war. The Danes reported in 1731 that 'Fante, Agona, Assin and Frempon (who would be none other than Frempon Manso of Akyem Kotoku) are at war against Asante, but Bang (Bakwante of Abuakwa) and Abroquah are helping the Asante',[2] and in 1737 there were definite 'quarrels between Frempon and Bang's people' and these affected trade on the coast.[3] If these reports were true it is likely that the 'sharing of Akwamu property' west of the Volta had not been without quarrels; and the creation of the new Akuapem state may have been an after-thought.

A fourth conclusion from the narrative is that Sakyiama Tenten may have been the 'grandson'[4] who is reported to have died in the war. This assumption is consistent with a contemporary report from the Danish records already cited that 'Say Kyiama' and his forces were slain in 1731, when they marched against the Akwamu forces east of the Volta.[5] This is none other than Sakyiama Tenten who appears in the unrevised chiefs' list of the Akuapem paramount stool as the seventh in succession, and his successor who was chosen by the Akyem Abuakwa king, and who concluded the Abotakyi treaty with the Hill people may be Fianko Betuafo.[6]

Another version of the oral tradition on the Abotakyi 'concord' indicates that a second factor was involved in the establishment of the new state. It says:

> After the conquest of Akwamu, Prince Safori left the camp for Amanprobi, and summoned all the Akuapems to come there. He requested them to untie the cartridge belt from his loins, meaning by that, to pay him so as to retire home. At that time they [Akuapem] were too poor having no gold dust, money, or even cloth to wear. . . . Hence they asked Safori to remain as their king; he consented and informed Ofori Panyin of it.
>
> To confirm this agreement; the new king requested them all to take an oath of the fetish Kyenku at Obosomase. They met at Abotakyi, and the fetish oath was administered with this promise that they would never throw off their allegiance to him or any of his successors for all time to come.[7]

1 Wilks, *Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*, p. 112

2 V. G. K., Waeroe and Council to Company, 25 March 1731

3 Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea, Council to Company, 12 July 1737

4 In the Akan form of expression a chief could call his heir or a member of the royal family his 'grandson' (or his *Nana*).

5 V. G. K., Waeroe and Council to Company, 25 March 1731; in *Anthropos*, B. Struck also writes (p. 3): 'The Akyem people followed the Akwamu crossing the *Firau* (Volta) as far as *Huam* (Eweland). And when they were on their way a people called Mansaa attacked and killed them all, the Akyem and their king.'

6 See Appendix II for the revised chiefs' list of the Akyem Abuakwa dynasty in Akuapem.

7 Reindorf, pp. 89–90. See also: *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 35.

From this narrative, it is evident that it was not only fear of the Akwamu power that led to the establishment of the Akyem dynasty; it may be, as Wilks rightly says, that 'probably under pressure from Akyem Abuakwa, now the dominant power in the region in succession to Akwamu, the head of the Akyem settlers was acknowledged head of the union'.[1] Amu and Ofei Kwasi Agyeman had definitely lost the leadership immediately the Akyem entered the war.[2] The Guan communities would also not accept any leader from the Akwamu remnants at Aburi. They were not prepared for the re-establishment of any form of Akwamu rule. So distasteful had it become to them that they were prepared to change it for 'the devil they did not know'. The part Ofei Kwasi Agyeman played had not brought victory and thus he lost the chance of assuming the leadership. His following may not have been large enough to enable him to be the accepted ruler of the new state. So the leader of the Akyem group won the contest.

The new rulers were wise and tolerant; they had come to stay. Roemer gives evidence of the Akyem wisdom and tolerance. He comments on the Akyem treatment of the Akwamu prisoners after the 1729–30 war:

> Most African nations sold their prisoners, but the Akims are wiser. They kept these slaves in their country, permitted them to marry their own slaves and treated them so well that the Aquamboes quickly forgot their own country and king, and became in course of five years, equals to the native-born Akims.[3]

In this way they were able to establish their rule over the 'Akuapem' – a name adopted by the rebel forces and retained after the union. The published traditions[4] on the Abotakyi 'concord' make it appear that the new regime was accepted without any discordant voice. Though there is no concrete evidence that such a voice was expressed, later events in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were to show that all was not well[5]; and this is symbolized in the adage still current in Akuapem today that: '*Ofori nkoa apem wonsom bi, wonnan bi, nso wonne won ho.*'[6]

1 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 403

2 Amu had, at the end of the war and long before the creation of the state, withdrawn from the hills. He is known to have pursued the Akwamu army beyond the Volta; and after series of encounters, he died in 1733 near Keta. See V.G.K., letter from Waeroe *et al.* to Company, 24 April 1733; also Uldall Saml. Fol. 130, Aarestrups Memo, 1782. Nana Boafo Ansa III, the present Kurontihene and occupant of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool told the author in a conversation recorded on tape that the position of the Akyem war leader was recognised as superior, hence there was no contest.

3 Roemer, 1760, *op. cit.*, p. 21

4 Reindorf, 1889, *op. cit.*, p. 90; (Anon) *Native Reports in Tshi*, 1913, *op. cit.*, p. 35

5 In the reign of Obuobi Atiemo 1765–89, Dutch and Danish records to be cited below show a serious crisis in the 1770s when the divisions other than Gyaase withheld allegiance from the Okuapemhene. (See below in this chapter.) See also D. Brokensha, 'Chief Akrofi of Larteh'. *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. VII, 1964, pp. 12–23

6 This means 'Ofori's thousand subjects, they serve no one, they depend on no one, yet they are not independent'. Traditions collected from an informant from Mamfe have it that the ruler of Mamfe at the time (called Apasiapa) expressed the only dissenting voice that the compensation being asked by the Akyem war lord should be given him so that he could depart. Though the author got no other informant to support this, there seems to be some truth in this if one considers the words of appellation for Kwapon Kyerefo, the third occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool (see the revised chiefs-list, Appendix II). They say: '*Kwapon Kyerefo: Woakum Apasiapa Okyerefo: woakum Mamfe – Toku ne Abe a Akuapem suro no*' meaning Kwapon Kyerefo: 'you have killed Apasiapa the wicked, you have killed Toku and Abe of Mamfe who are feared by Akuapem' (Toku and Abe are believed to have been among

The Akyem immigrants having assured themselves of leadership by the pattern familiar among the Akan in those days – oath swearing and 'fetish eating'[1] – asked for land on which to build the capital for the union state. This was provided by Okyeama Aworoben of Mamfe, who, it is alleged,[2] was forced to give up his Amanprobi village to the Akyem war leader and his followers. This place was, however, found unsuitable for it was lying off the main path in the hills; so Baagyiri, the fetish-priest chief of Abiriw, offered a new site at the place known as Nsorem.[3] It was also abandoned for it became water-logged during the rainy period and Akuropon was built on a third site, under the shade of the *Mpeni* tree[4]; to this day the *Mpeni* tree has been the meeting place where all Akuapem pay homage to the Omanhene (paramount chief) during the yearly celebration of the Odwira festival, which was instituted to unite the various communities by sentiments of solidarity and nationhood.[5]

After the 'Concord of Abotakyi' in 1733, the new Abuakwa ruler, Fianko Betuafo, having convinced himself of a modicum of support, set out to organise his newly won territory and conglomeration of peoples, predominantly of non-Akan origin, into a regular Twi (or Akan) order.

In constitutional terms, this is a system in which the offices of state are military as well as political or administrative; that is, certain civil offices are normally combined with particular military positions in time of war.[6] Though in most Akan States the wings are not territorial units, for a wing chief has under him towns scattered far and wide throughout the state; in Akuapem, as in a few cases of predominantly Twi-speaking states such as Akyem Manso and Kamana in Akwamu, there is an exception. For in Akuapem the system was based on pre-existing communities and the process of creating and distributing offices was largely based on them; but it also, no doubt, contributed to the 'fissionary tendencies' which bedevilled the government and politics of the state in the 1770s,

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those who laid foundations to the town of Mamfe; and their names have since been used as appellations for the town. See Mamfe tradition in Appendix I). Apasiapa was the second priest-ruler of Mamfe (see Fianko, *Twifo Amammuisem*, p. 107). Reindorf's account (cited below) strongly suggests that the Mamfe land was confiscated rather than given up. This may account for Mamfe's alleged opposition to the 'Concord of Abotakyi'. The same may be true of Abiriw. There may have been a deliberate policy of playing down the importance of these two towns. The Abiriw priest-chief may have felt that his shrine rather than Kyenku's should have been the site of the concord. As one of the informants of the author said in an interview, recorded on tape, Abiriw is one of the towns in Akuapem whose relations with Akuropon have never been cordial.

1 This may be compared, though less grand, with the invocation of the 'Golden Stool' by Okomfo Anokye some forty years earlier in Asante. 'Fetish eating', common in the eighteenth-century Gold Coast, was the procedure used in concluding agreements between two parties. The fetish cult was called upon by the fetish priest to be a witness to the agreement.

2 Reindorf, p. 90 3 Struck, p. 4

4 The *Mpeni* tree marked the boundary of the land owned formerly by people of Abiriw and Mamfe. The palace of the Okuapemhene at Akuropon is built facing the *Mpeni* tree which stands on a large square where the Odwira durbar is usually held.

5 Akuapem tradition, Appendix I. Information obtained from Okyeame Akufo Boafo shows that, until 1826, the main festival of the Okuapemhene was the *Adae* (see Appendix I). In 1826, the Okuapemhene Addo Dankwa captured the *Odwira Apafram* (the Asante stool paraphernalia for the Odwira festival), from the Asante, when they were defeated in the Akantamansu battle. The Okuapemhene has celebrated the Odwira festival ever since.

6 Appendix III shows political as well as military positions of the Akuapem chiefs.

1830s and 1840s, for, as will be noticed below, those divisions in Akwapem had and still have some ethnic and linguistic differences.

The new overlord had no choice but to follow this course. For the pre-existing communities owned the land, by contrast with European feudal constitutions; indeed as M. J. Field was told in Akyem, 'an Omanhene has no land',[1] in the sense that he does not own and dispose of the land of the state.[2] The land belongs to the people and he is a mere custodian. In Akuapem this is exactly the case, particularly as the Omanhene is a late-comer; thus he could not parcel out land to his followers as William the Conqueror did to the Norman barons who, after 1066, were endowed with plenty of land to support their military obligations. Land, as will be mentioned at the end of this chapter, was one of the factors underlying the weakness of the Okuapemhene's position in the state.

The building of the Akuapem State, the task of distributing offices and creating new stools, was not an easy assignment for the Okuapemhene. Perhaps a common factor in history, that coalitions tend to break when the common enemy has been eliminated, began to rear its ugly head among the Twi and Guan communities. The rebel leaders may have begun to look to their individual interests, and to have laid claim to this or that office. One tradition says that Opon Tenten of Aburi started the revolt[3] and so his successor, after showing some opposition to the new regime, was compensated with the Adontenhene Stool, whose occupant was the third centre chief in the state after the Kurontihene and the Gyaasehene respectively.[4]

Opon Tenten is known to have died in a skirmish between Aburi and Nyanaoase and his successor, Ofei Agyeman, became the first of the Abrade clan to occupy the Adonten stool.[5] Another tradition, already cited above, alleges that the leader of the Mamfe people at the time was the lone voice which suggested that the Akyem war lords must be compensated and allowed to return to Akyem as they demanded.

But more important considerations loomed larger and the fissionary tendencies were contained, though not without their occasional outbursts.[6] The need for security must have been the first principle observed in the creation and distribution of stools and offices. Secondly, there may have been the intention to reward political services. Thirdly, the new rulers found it necessary to create authority at the centre to strengthen their power and to weaken that of the wing chiefs; hence many of the new offices and stools created around the Okuapemhene went to relatives.

1 M. J. Field, *Akim Kotoku*, p. 10

2 Compare the position with the rights of the Asantehene over lands in Asante where K. A. Busia (*The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*, Oxford, 1951, p. 53) says that the Asantehene exercised no rights over the lands of the divisional chiefs.

3 Aburi and Akwamu traditions, Appendix I

4 Akuapem tradition recorded on tape, also E. O. Ayisi, *The Basis of Political Authority of the Akuapem Tribes*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London 1965, p. 97. See Appendix III for table of political divisions in Akuapem.

5 Djan, p. 102; also interview with Nana Osae Djan II, Adontenhene of Akuapem State. See also the previous chapter.

6 For example, in the reigns of Obuobi Atiemo 1765–92, Addo Dankwa 1816–36, and Kwame Fori I 1880–95.

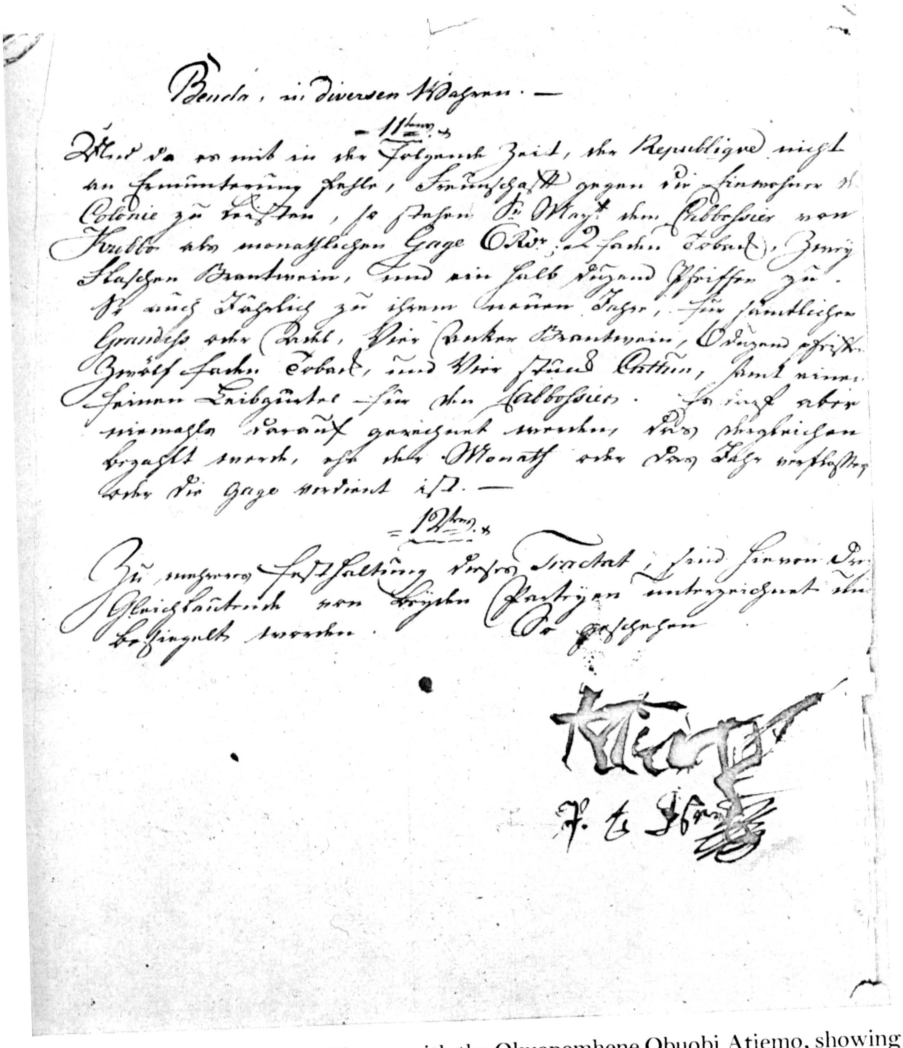


Plate 3 Last page of Isert's Treaty with the Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo, showing signatures of Isert and Obuobi Atiemo. See p. 97 and Appendix IV.

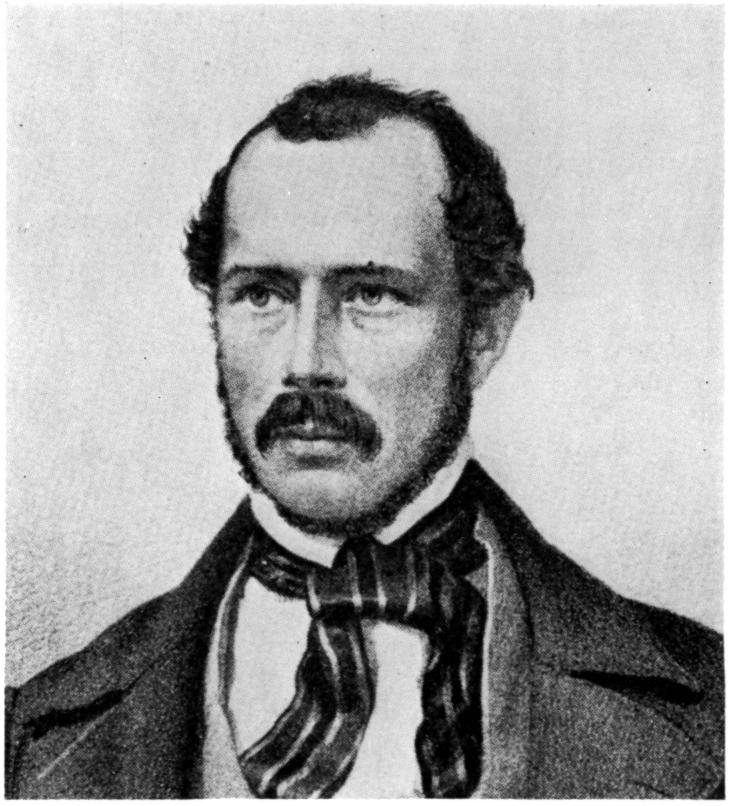


Plate 4

(*a*) Frederick Siegfred Mørch, Danish Governor 1835–1839.

(*b*) Edward James Arnold Carstensen, last Danish Governor 1842–1850.

Besides the fear of the return of Akwamu power[1] there may have been the need for internal security as a factor which influenced the process of distribution and creation of stools. This is evident in the fact that Ofei Kwasi Agyeman, the Gyakiti war leader, who had originally invited the Akyem Abuakwa contingent, was created the first centre chief with the title Adontenhene and Mankrado of Akuropon next in rank after the Okuapenhene; the position of second centre chief or the second Adontenhene went to Kwatia Akompi, a leader of a collateral branch of the newcomers from Akyem-Abuakwa,[2] whose second successor later built Amanokrom; and finally the third centre chief was the ruler of the Akwamu remnants at Aburi, Ofei Agyeman.[3] Though the first centre chief was not of the same Asona clan as the Okuapemhene and the second centre chief, his loyalty to the new regime could not be doubted; and he was duly rewarded for his services in the war, not only for the part he played but also for inviting the Akyem Abuakwa war leaders. It seems he had accepted the position without complaint, and as the present occupant of the stool emphasised in conversation recorded on tape in his house at Akuropon, Ofei Kwasi Agyeman must have realised clearly that they (the Akyem Abuakwa war lords) belonged to a paramount stool – the present-day Kuntukununku stool (or Ofori Panin stool as it is sometimes called) of Kyebi and as such should be allowed to occupy the senior position. Perhaps their large following had made it clear to Ofei Kwasi that it was useless arguing with superior numbers and weapons.[4]

The case of Amanokrom as the second centre position now known as Gyaase[5] is obvious. In the Akan political and military set up, the Gyaase (Administrative) division is made up of blood relatives of the chief including his sisters, his children and grandchildren.[6] It was, therefore, natural that the Gyaase stool in the Akuapem State should go to a collateral branch of the new dynasty; for the Gyaasehene is an important personality among the 'king makers' who choose or install the Omanhene or the Okuapemhene. He has the command of the important paraphernalia of the Omanhene and he is directly responsible to the Omanhene. In war

1 This factor has already been mentioned above as one of the causes for the setting up of the state.

2 Recorded information from Nana Boafo Ansa III, Kurontihene of Akuapem State. See below, p. 52 for further comment on this collateral branch of the Okuapemhene's dynasty.

3 Ayisi, p. 97

4 It is not difficult to find cases of this in Akan history. See K. Y. Daaku, 'Pre-Ashanti States', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 9, November 1966, p. 12. In Asante history the Ekoana headman who had founded Kwaman gave way to the Oyoko immigrants under their leader Oti Akenten, probably because of their numerical strength and superiority in weapons.

5 It is interesting to observe that the title 'Adontenhene' was borne by all the successive occupants of the three central stools well into our own times. *The Gold Coast Chiefs List*, published by the Native Affairs Department, Ghana National Archives, until 1934 used this title for all three rulers. In that year the titles of Kurontihene, Gyaasehene, and Adontenhene were adopted for the occupants of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool at Akuropon, the Asona stool of Amanokrom and the Abrade stool of Aburi respectively. Perhaps this may emphasise the point already raised that the distribution of offices was not completed at once, neither was it accomplished with any ease. For instance, in the 1840s, the position of Amanokrom was not clear. The Danes recognised it as directly under Akuropon, though the position of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool, occupied at the time by Kofi Kra, had been recognised as the second-in-command after the Okuapemhene, and Aburi, Late-Ahenease and Adukurom were known to them as divisional heads. Guineiske Journaler: Carstensen, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, dd.2.3.1846. See also: C. Nørregaard, *Governor Edward Carstensens*.

6 Djan, pp.119–20; Akuffo, p. 110; Fianko, pp. 14–15

he and his contingent and that of the Ankobeahene, who in the Akan set-up is usually the chief's father, provide immediate protection to the Omanhene.[1]

Thus here again, for purposes of security, an important position was entrusted to a relative who could be relied upon. Though there is the element of reward for services rendered in this instance, it is rather a matter of family compact. The third ruler of this collateral branch of the Abuakwa immigrants, called Amano,[2] and his people built a new centre at Amanokrom among the southern Guan communities of Mamfe and Mampon in order to supervise their activities and report any action of subversion.[3] It is interesting to note that when in the 1770s most of the Akuapem towns revolted against Atiemo, the Okuapemhene, it was Amanokrom and Late which stood together with Akuropon in support of Atiemo.[4] It is not known for certain when the present-day town of Amanokrom, the head of the Gyaase division, was built; Amano Awua who is credited with the foundation of the town was the third occupant of the Gyaase stool.[5] It seems likely that the earlier rulers and their people lived at Amanprobi or Akuropon together with their neighbours of the Sakyiama group; however, by 1786 when the Danish traveller, Isert, visited the ridge, Amanokrom must have been founded, as he mentions it[6]; earlier in 1772, a Dutch report on the revolt against Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo, mentions it.[7] It also appeared on Thonning's Map of 1802.[8] It was known to the Danes as Manno (Isert) or Amanda (Thonning).

The Akwamu remnants around Aburi had, at all costs, to be given a place in the new political set up. After all, they had played a part in the successful rebellion against Akwamu power. Together with Late they had accepted Amu's overtures to overthrow Ansa Sasraku IV. However, when the character of the war was altered and they realised the danger to the Akwamu state, they had remained neutral under their leader, Ofei Agyeman,[9] who subsequently became the third centre chief in the new set up.

The loyalty of these Akwamu remnants at Aburi could not be trusted with any certainty, but since they had chosen to remain on the ridge and they formed a group of considerable size,[10] and being of Akan origin, distinct from the Guan

1 Djan, p. 137, the diagram showing the 'Position of Fighting Men' in the Akan military set-up. See also Appendix III.

2 Fianko, p. 102

3 It can be observed from the traditions recorded on tape by the author that the new overlords created the system of Mankrado in certain towns such as Late, Adukrom and Aburi to look after their interests in those towns. E. O. Ayisi (p. 154) calls it a system of consulship, 'a sort of ambassador to teach the Kyerepon and the Late people all the nuances of Akan political system and to keep their ears open to report any attempt at rebellion'. It is interesting to note that though this system was created by the Akyem, and the office-holders were Akyem, whose inheritance system is matrilineal, the system is now patrilineal. Perhaps it is more impressive in predominantly Akan states, such as Asante, where such administrative offices follow a patrilineal rather than matrilineal system of inheritance. See I. Wilks, 'Aspects of Bureaucratisation in Ashanti in the Nineteenth Century', *J.A.H.*, Vol. I, 2, 1960, pp. 215–32; also conversation recorded on tape with Okyeame Boafo Akufo and Nana Boafo Ansa III.

4 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Van der Puye, *Furley Collections*, 4 May 1772.

5 Djan, p. 103; Fianko, p. 102 6 Isert, p. 153

7 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, *Furley Collections*, letter from Van der Puye, 1 May 1772

8 P. Thonning, *Kort de danske besiddelser*, Guinea, 1802 9 Djan, p. 102

10 There are no records for the estimate of population of the Akuapem towns in the eighteenth century. However, the recorded population of 1891, as cited by Polly Hill (*The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana*), p. 248, can serve as a guide. The population of Aburi in 1891 indicates that the town had a population of 4410, the fourth most populous after Adukrom, Late and Akuropon respectively.

communities, their leader must be given a definite position in the new state. Tradition has it that the position of this centre was a means of bribing them into obedience to the new regime at Akuropon. This had to be done, for Aburi controlled, and still controls, an important section on the Akuapem ridge; the Aburihene now commands an important section of the Akuapem army.

Perhaps the principle of rewarding political services was not adhered to strictly. Other factors may have been considered; and that is the reason why Abiriw and Mamfe (so near Akuropon, and what is more important, the two towns had made available land to the new immigrants) were not given the ranks of Right and Left wing chiefs respectively.[1] Instead these ranks went respectively to the towns of Adukrom and Late-Ahenease. In the case of Abiriw, there is no evidence that the chief ever enjoyed this status. Mamfe tradition, though not confirmed by that of Late-Ahenease, has it that it was through war that this position was lost to Late-Ahenease.[2]

One is, therefore, inclined to believe that factors of numerical strength and perhaps the stage of development of political systems may have been a more serious consideration in other awards. By one tradition Abiriw was never the principal town of the Kyerepon Guan community; though Nana Otutu Bagyiri IV, the present chief of Abiriw, does not accept this version of the tradition.[3] Awukugua is known to have been, but it is claimed that as a result of marriage connection the ruling power was removed to Adukrom.[4] Furthermore, this latter area had been settled and built by people of Akan origin, though it is possible that the majority of the inhabitants were Kyerepon Guan. Though Wilks' scheme of 'Position of 1826 occupant in list'[5] does not give support to the view that Adukrom had stools before the coming of the Ofori Kuma dynasty, it seems probable that the Akan founders of this town had an organized political system of a sufficiently advanced nature to attract the new overlords in the process of the distribution of offices. Perhaps the size of Adukrom may have been another factor in this matter.[6]

The size and political system of Late-Ahenease may have been enough to make it qualify for the headship of the Benkum division, whatever the traditions have to say against its original status. Of all the present-day Akuapem towns, the two

1 The probable cause for this has been mentioned above in this chapter.

2 D. W. Brokensha, *Social Change at Larteh, Ghana*, Oxford 1966, p. 107, states that Late-Ahenease had enjoyed this position since the foundation of the Akuapem State in 1730.

3 Conversation recorded on tape with one of the author's informants mentioned that in the late nineteenth century a redistribution of offices was made, but at that time Abiriw's interests were not considered since the Omanhene had a serious quarrel with the then chief of Abiriw.

4 Reindorf, p. 87. See also Akuapem tradition, Appendix I.

5 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 395. 'Position of 1826 occupant in list' provided by Wilks in this paper presented and discussed at the Fourth International African Seminar at the University of Dakar, Senegal, 1961, gives a list of occupants of some important Akuapem stools and the numerical position of 1826 holders of these offices. From this he deduced statistically the approximate date of the beginning of the dynasty of each stool. The present author is very greatly indebted to him as some of the evidence in this chapter is based on this work. However, as already discussed in Chapter 2, the position of the Okuapemhene's dynasty has been reviewed by the present author.

6 Though no contemporary census record exists, the 1891 Census can be a guide. Adukrom had by far the largest population in the division, 9720; the next was Abiriw with 2130 inhabitants. See Hill, p. 248

Late towns together form the largest single settlement on the ridge. The figures for the 1891 census indicate that it had a population of 7615. In 1901, the figure for Late-Ahenease alone is 8477 and that of Kubease, 3434. The 1960 census indicates that Late has a population of 6381. Size apart, Late-Ahenease, like Aburi, may have already had stools of the Akan type, originating from the Akwamu period on the ridge.[1] The rulers of the other Late town, Kubease, have from time to time claimed the title of Kyidomhene (chief of the rear-guard division). In 1923 the claim was made by George Ohene who became Kubeasehene with the stool name Agyemfra IV, on the grounds that it had been bestowed on one of his ancestors as a reward for an act of valour in war. He succeeded in this struggle and was confirmed as Kyidomhene by the Benkumhene, then Okanta Ofori III on May 19, 1924.[2] Later Mamfehene and Mamponhene appeared as rival claimants to this title of Kyidomhene; as a result the State Council resolved that the title should be 'locked away' that is the office should be left vacant.[3]

These divisional rulers – the Kurontihene, Gyaasehene, Adontenhene, Nifahene, Benkumhene and Kyidomhene – were, and are, the principal office holders after the Okuapemhene in the new Akuapem State. The creation and distribution of these offices had certainly not been made in a day – neither had the task been achieved without quarrels. In field work, the author found it difficult to get any of the traditionalists to confirm or deny whether the distribution of offices ever created any dissension among the chiefs and people of the new state. One casual answer to this enquiry was generalised – 'you know any such distribution is bound to create quarrels' – while others would say Abiriw and Mamfe had once been a source of irritation to the new overlords, they would not provide the details. Others, in a hesitant voice, would say Aburi laid claim to the position of first centre chief.

In the eighteenth century we have no concrete records of attempts to lay claim to this or that office[4]; nor is there any direct evidence as to when, or the space of time within which, the creation and distribution of offices were made. However, the table of 'Position of 1826 occupant in list'[5] may provide a rough guide to the time factor involved in the creation and distribution of office holders. According to the table, five of the seven divisional stools, including that of the Okuapemhene, were in existence before 1730.[6] These, apart from the Okuapemhene's, were those of Amanokrom, Aburi, Late-Ahenease, and Late-Kubease. It can be

1 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', pp. 395 and 401. In conversation recorded on tape, Nana Boafo Ansa III, Kurontihene of Akuapem, said that Gyadu Nkansa, the second ruler on the list provided by Safori Fianko, was the ruler of Ahenease at the time of the war of 1729–30. Nana Boafo said Gyadu Nkansa was present at a meeting at Abotakyi, where the decision was taken to ask for help from Akyem Abuakwa after Ofei Kwasi Agyeman's debacle.

2 *The Gold Coast Chiefs List, Native Affairs Department*, Ghana National Archives, 1925/6. Also Kubeasehene's Correspondence Book, containing copies of letters sent to and received by Kubeasehene for the period 1918–27, in possession of the present Kubeasehene.

3 Kubeasehene's Correspondence Book.

4 For this there are instances in the nineteenth century, attempts by one or other of the divisional (wing) chiefs to declare himself independent. See Brokensha, p. 105

5 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 395.

6 It is possible though that almost all the existing dynasties in Akuapem today were already established, but not stools of the Akan type, which the Guan priest-rulers later adopted.

suggested that the creation and distribution of the senior offices were later than the creation of stools with two possible exceptions in the case of Kurontihene and Gyaasehene stools.[1] The Kurontihene stool as well as the office attached is believed to have been created during the reign of Kwapon Kyerefo, Okuapemhene, who died in 1765[2] and who was probably the third occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool, according to the revised list in Appendix II. What may have been the criterion for the award in the Nifa division is perhaps, as already suggested, that the founding fathers of Adukrom may have been of Akan origin – and even though the dynasties of Abiriw and Apirede may have been established long before the coming of the new overlords, they were not as 'Akanised' as that of Adukrom which was probably a contemporary of the Okuapemhene's dynasty. For in 1843 the Ohene of Abiriw was still combining the dual offices of a fetish-priest and a chief,[3] and this was not entirely on the normal Twi pattern for an Ohene's stool.

Thus the creation and distribution of the major offices in the Akuapem state had depended on several factors ; the maintenance of security, reward for political services, the fact of large following, and the antiquity and development of the associated stool. The divisional structure of Akuapem is closely connected with the ethnic and linguistic groupings within the state.[4] With the creation of the wing chiefs, the subordinate towns may have easily adjusted themselves within the divisions. The towns of Adonten division, headed by Aburi, are the Twi-speaking towns of Akwamu or Akan origin and some Guan elements – Atweasin (now an integral part of the town of Aburi), Ahwerease and Berekuso whose ruler is also generally considered as Twafohene of Akuapem (that is, the commander of the vanguard). The Nifa division is made up of the Kyerepon-Guan group of the northern section of the hills, with Abiriw, Abonse, Apirade, Awukugua and Dawu as subordinate towns. The subordinate Benkum division towns are Mamfe, Abotakyi, Mampon, Tutu and Obosomase.[5] The Kurontihene with his seat at Akuropon and the Gyaasehene at Amanokrom have no definite subordinate towns. They are directly responsible to the Okuapemhene with the Kurontihene usually acting as the Okuapemhene during an interregnum; while the Gyaasehene is considered by custom as ruling Akuropon as a subordinate town; on the death or destoolment of an Okuapemhene he acts as head of the Okuapemhene's household until a new candidate is installed.

In the nineteenth century with the introduction of cocoa and its sequel[6] new

1 It has already been explained in the previous chapter that the Okuapemhene's stool had not been established in Akuapem prior to 1730. Within the same context, that of Amanokrom should also post-date 1730. Thus only three of the seven divisional stools must ante-date 1730, that is, those of the two Late towns and that of Aburi.

2 Djan, p. 103

3 *Digest of Articles on Ghana in Basel Mission Periodicals 1828–1857*. E.C. 6(3), 'Widmann's Report on Journey from Osu to Akropon', 25 June 1843. Digest of Mission Literature, p. 72. See also Akuffo, p. 221.

4 The dependence of the division on the linguistic and ethnic grouping appears to have been one of the political weaknesses within the state. See below.

5 Obosomase was, until recently, directly under Akuropon. See Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 2 March 1846.

6 The 'great trek' westwards to the lands below the hills and into the territories of present-day Akyem-Abuakwa by the cocoa farmers whose activities have been discussed in detail by Polly Hill in *The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana*. M. Johnson, in correspondence, has drawn the author's attention to the fact that the commercial production of palm oil from the 1830s had begun to have effects similar to those of cocoa farming. See also Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress'.

towns and villages were added to the various divisions both inside and outside the boundaries of the state, though for the towns and villages outside the state no legal jurisdiction was obtained; the chiefs, however, always looked after the interests of their people who had settled as migrant farmers.[1]

In the subordinate towns in the divisions, stools of the Akan type made their appearance at different times. In some cases, the stools did not appear until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[2] In others, it is particularly interesting to note that the creation of the office of Mankrado for these towns also preceded the appearance of the stools.[3] The main reason for this is that it took some time to get some of the Guan groups to emulate the institutions and customs of the newcomers, and possibly to adopt the system of black stools. Even in the case of Abiriw, where according to Wilks' table an Ohene was created long before the arrival of the new overlords, the sacred office of a priest had not been separated from that of a secular constitutional chief by 1843 when Widmann, the missionary, visited that town. Nana Bagyire IV, the present Abiriwhene, told the author that the change took place about eighty years ago.[4] In the case of Mamfe, it was about 1826, for Agyekum, known to have taken part in the Akantamansu war of 1826, is believed to have been its first Mamfehene who was not a priest.[5] Today political power is centralised in hierarchial structure, and religious functionaries have become separate entities in the social system. In some cases, however, priests were given pride of place in the political system.

Perhaps with the creation and distribution of offices in the divisions and their respective subordinate towns completed or even in progress the Okuapemhene found it expedient and rational to strengthen his authority at the centre by creating around him public offices often filled by the descendants of the Akyem settlers.[6] Such concentration of power at the centre and among the relatives of the Okuapemhene was necessary because it not only made it possible to raise the relatives and followers of Sakyiama Tenten to positions of honour, but also ensured that the Okuapemhene was loyally served by subordinates who, besides owing their elevation to him, were bound to him by family ties. It can be observed that most of these offices were created at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries[7]; and also that many of these offices went to members of the Asona clan to which the Okuapemhene belonged.[8] It seems

1 See Hill. It will be observed, however, from Polly Hill's work that at one time the headman (*odekro*) of Asuboi in Akyem was regarded as an Akuapem chief. A law suit later gave the jurisdiction over Asuboi to Akyem Abuakwa and such claims ceased. Another instance is the jurisdiction over the town of Mangoase a section of which is on the west bank of the Densu river. The author's late grandfather was the ruler of Mangoase, and he remembers a lawsuit in the late 1940s over the jurisdiction of the section west of the Densu between his grandfather and the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa. This ended in Akyem Abuakwa gaining control of the western part which was subsequently called *Asarekrom*.

2 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 395. Instances are the stools of Ohene of Mampon and Odekro of Tutu.

3 *Ibid.* Instances are again in the case of Mampon and Tutu, and Berekuso and Ahwerease.

4 Conversation with Nana Bagyire IV recorded on tape

5 Mamfe tradition, collected by the author 6 Fianko, pp. 96–101

7 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 395

8 Some of the offices held by members of the Asona clan, who are also members of the king-makers council are: Obran Odiabuo Agua (Agua means stool); Gyamani Awere Agua (the occupant of this stool is the chief-spokesman (Okyeame) who introduces the new Okuapemhene elected by the King-makers Council to the Kurontihene), and Ohemmea Agua (the Queen Mother's stool).

possible, therefore, that the creation became necessary after the crisis of the 1770s. The Okuapemhene learnt a lesson and realised that he should rely more and more on the support from his own relatives. At the same time occurred the creation of offices for the chief public spokesman and spokesman for the Nifa, Benkum and Adonten divisions.

In explaining the duties of the holders of these last mentioned offices – the spokesman (Okyeame) for the divisions – the present occupant of the Akuapem Kurontihene's stool told the author in a conversation recorded on tape that the divisional chiefs approached the Okuapemhene through these officials. Perhaps this administrative arrangement can be compared with the *adamfo*[1] system of Asante instituted in the reign of Osei Bonsu (1801–24).[2] The spokesman acted in the same way as the *adamfo* in Kumasi, as a sort of liaison officer between the divisional chief and the Okuapemhene. If, for example, the Benkumhene wanted a message to reach the Okuapemhene, he passed it through the occupant of Ansa Sasraku Agua[3] (the Benkum Kyeame) who in turn passed the message through the Kurontihene of Akuropon to the Okuapemhene. Though the system of spokesman had no such elaborate organisation as that of *adamfo* in Asante,[4] it seems possible that it was meant to serve a similar purpose in Akuapem to that which Busia says 'was a development which recognised the need of some contact between Kumasi and the outlying states', and also to that which Wilks regarded as significant in Asante history – that is, 'the attempted reduction of the Amanhene to vassals'.[5] In Akuapem this was probably the case. For in the late nineteenth century commander Murray Rumsey, R.N. made the following observation on the political divisions in the hills:

> Four districts viz: Akropong, Aburi, and Amanokrom, Adukrom and Larti: over each district there is a Chief; these are again divided into sections under Captains (Osafohin) and may yet again be divided into small villages some of which are presided over by headmen (Opanying or Osafohin).
>
> The King assisted by a chief name Buafu Ansa[6] and by four councillors (Ankobeafo) and eight or nine others (Osafohini); all these reside in Akropong, Buafu Ansa is head chief of the district of Aburi and Amanokrom and the King exercises authority over it only through him.[7]

Another important stool created around the Okuapemhene's court is the *Akonnuakuma* or *Ahenniakyirigua* (the stool for the heir presumptive). The creation of

1 *Adamfo* is a Twi word which means 'friend'.

2 Tordoff, *Ashanti Under the Prempehs*, London 1965, p. 8

3 *Agua* means 'stool'.

4 In Asante the *adamfo* who is also a Kumasi chief is a member of the Kumasi State Council and in the nineteenth century was also created provincial governor of the distant conquered states where he enjoyed 'a princely rank'. In Akuapem too the spokesman is a chief in Akuropon in the same way as the *adamfo* is a Kumasi chief, and the former is directly responsible to the Okuapemhene, as the latter is to the Asantehene. See Busia, p. 100. It seems likely that this system of spokesman was learnt from the Asante residents in Akuapem.

5 Wilks, 'Akan Administrative Practice' cited by Tordoff in *J.A.H.*, Vol. III, 3, 1962, p. 411

6 This is certainly Boafo Ansa, the ninth occupant of the Kurontihene stool. See Fianko, p. 95.

7 C.3687, 'Further correspondence regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast', August 1882, General Report on the River Volta District by Commander R. Murray Rumsey, R.N., June 1882, p. 27

this stool, unlike those just discussed, goes back to the foundation of the State in 1733. According to the list of occupants of this stool, the first three became Okuapemhene[1]; the fifth and seventh as well; perhaps the fourth (Akufo)[2] died before he could occupy the Okuapemhene's stool. In 1776, for instance, the Danes wrote of 'Aikufrune' (Awuku Fenenee) as 'Atiambo's [Obuobi Atiemo 1765–1792][3] lieutenant and successor'.[4] Awuku Fenenee was the seventh occupant of the *Ahenniakyirigua*, and became the fifth Okuapemhene from 1792 to 1802[5] on the death of Atiemo.

While the creation of this stool had the obvious advantage of making clear to the kingmakers the next Okuapemhene, in more recent times it gave rise to succession disputes and has therefore been abolished.[6]

Thus it can be seen from 1733 onwards that the new overlords set out to consolidate their position by creating public officials from among their relatives and trusted followers. Most of the offices were held by members of the same clan as the Okuapemhene, and were related to him by family ties as well. However, in the Divisions of the state the new rulers had to rely on the existing leaders. As already noted some recognised stools were retained; the stools of Aburi and Late-Ahenease, for instance, originating from the Akwamu period; in most of the Guan towns the fetish-priests who were accepted leaders came round gradually to adopt the Akan system and in course of time separated the religious office from the secular one, and created in time, black stools of the Akan type. They were supervised for purposes of security and taught the Akan system by the Mankrado sent from the capital to live among them. Both the divisional chiefs and the various Akuapem towns in course of time learnt from the Okuapemhene's creation, and were reproduced in miniature in the divisions, and in fragmentary form at even lower levels. Thus the missionary H. H. Riis reported that towns of Akuapem

> form as many political communities, each has its own caboceer,[7] who with a council of the most respected men around him is ruler and judge of his town and of the plantations and hamlets belonging thereto. But as each caboceer is the chief of his town so the caboceer at the central place, Akropong, is esteemed

1 They are Sakyiama Tenten, Fianko Betuafo and Kwapon Kyerefo. See Fianko, p. 96.

2 See Appendix II, Genealogy and revised Chiefs' list of the Okuapemhene's stool. The sixth occupant of the heir-apparent stool bears the name Kwatia Akompi (S. Fainko, 1951, op. cit., p. 96), the same name as the first occupant of the Gyaasehene's stool of Amanokrom. No doubt he might be the same person, and the tradition 'cited' above in this chapter that it was at a later stage that a leader of a collateral branch of the Okuapemhene's dynasty was created Gyaasehene with his seat first at Akuropon and later at Amanokrom must be stressed as being consistent.

3 Djan, p. 103

4 V. G. K., Palavebøger, Aarestrup to Copenhagen, 21 May 1776

5 Guineiske Journaler, Interim Governor Ahnholm, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 17 September 1802. See also Biørn, p. 205; he writes of Atiemo in 1788, 'he is to us a true ally together with his heir [*Tronfølge*] Aikufrune'.

6 One of the author's informants on Akuropon traditions alleges that it was the cause of bitter stool dispute in the 1950s between Twumhene (Kwaku Twum) who occupied this stool and became Okuapemhene (1949–59) and Kwame Fori II (1945–49), destooled in 1949 and reinstated in 1959 after the destoolment of the Twumhene.

7 Caboceer means chief.

the chief of the country, and all other caboceers are in a state of dependence on him.[1]

Yet no elaborate system of the Asante type of politics and government developed in Akuapem. There were oaths created as a result of disaster or misfortune in war[2] and by which the divisional chiefs pledged their allegiance to the Okuapemhene, as the Abirempon of the Asante division did to the Asantehene; there was the institution of the Odwira festival[3] to unite such a conglomeration of peoples by a common festival; and as already noted there was the division of the new state into the Akan politico-military sections. Yet there was no Golden Stool which could become the symbol of national unity. Perhaps due to its size and the fact that it had no ambitions for territorial expansion, its politico-military organisation, though on the same outline as any Akan state, was a miniature replica of the Asante type representing the system within the jurisdiction of an Asante Obirempon.[4]

Unlike Asante the bases for political unity in Akuapem were difficult to find. Most of the Union states of Asante belonged to the Oyoko clan of the Akan blood relations. Furthermore, they were all Twi-speaking and to some extent claimed common origin; they had all lived in Adanse and Amanse districts of modern Ghana.[5] Despite these common affinities, which perhaps made the work of Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye, the builders of Asante Kingdom, less difficult, they found it necessary to make the Golden Stool the repository of a national spirit transcending all local ties.[6] Such bases of unity were not present in Akuapem. The people were divided by diverse languages or dialects – Kyerepon Guan, Late Guan and Twi; and were also divided by their festivals – the Akan had their Odwira and the Guan communities Ohum. The system of inheritance was also another dividing factor. The Akan were, and still are, matrilineal, the Guan patrilineal.

These differences could easily disturb any form of unity that may have been evident at Abotakyi, and may have been part of the cause of most of the political

1 H. N. Riis, *Grammatical Outline and Vocabulary of the Oji Language*, Basel 1854. This is the younger Riis, a nephew of the pioneer missionary Andreas Riis (see Chapter 5).

2 The main Akuapem oath is 'Wukuda ne Sokodee' that is Wednesday and Sokodee, which are derived from misfortune the Akuapem army suffered in war on a Wednesday at Sokodee in the Volta Region in modern Ghana. Though none of the informants was able to tell the history connected with the oath, it may have come from the 1731 debacle in which Sakyiama Tenten was killed. For all that the traditionalists say is 'the Akuapem chief and his forces suffered a great disaster on a Wednesday near a town called Sokodee' (which is on the east bank of the Volta).

3 Anon; *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 35. That Safori instituted the Adae which later developed into the Odwira when he settled at Amamprobi. (See above showing when the Odwira became a regular festival in Akuapem, p. 49 note.)

4 By way of comparison, the political system of the Akuapem state could be likened to, say, the Mampon division of the Asante Union with the Mamponhene as equivalent to the Okuapemhene and the chiefs of Ejura, Jamasi and Efiduase who are Adontenhene, Benkumhene and Nifahene respectively to the Mamponhene. These divisional chiefs of the Mampon 'amanto' (state) had in turn, in the same way as in the Akuapem divisions, subordinate towns within their respective divisions.

5 J. Agyeman-Dua, 'Ashanti Mampong: a traditional history of the reign of Nana Safo Katanka', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 21–5

6 For details of government and politicis of Asante see R. S. Rattray, *Asante Law and Constitution*, Oxford 1929; K. A. Busia, 1951

disunity and crises in subsequent years. Oral traditions are silent on these issues; as mentioned earlier, traditionalists are wary of mentioning or discussing such matters. However, there is evidence from Danish, Dutch and Basel Missionary records during the period; and official English records[1] on the Gold Coast in the closing decades of the nineteenth century are full of evidence of political crises which undermined whatever unity there was in Akuapem.

The first fissionary movement which is known to have disturbed the Akuapem State internally occurred in the 1770s; and was recorded by the agents of the Dutch trading company on the Gold Coast. In 1772 it was reported that:

> The Crons Aboedi [Aburi], Assiantewa [Asantama or Obosomase] Tutoe [Tutu], Mampo [Mampon], Manvai [Mamfe] and Ottierpon [perhaps all the Kyerepon towns] [have] separated themselves from Atiambo and his people the Lati [Late] and Amando [Amanokrom] cron, as also having palaver or dispute with Atiambo.[2]

There is nothing in the record to indicate the cause of this revolt; and there is no evidence from the Danish sources to confirm this 1772 revolt. It is the revolt of 1777–78 that was confirmed by the Danes, and a possible cause of that can be found. The Dutch report of this revolt is, however, more explicit:

> The following persons Sari [Osae?] of Abbodie, Oussie [Asiedu Kese?] of Late, Wintermael [Wontumi, then Mankrado?] from Toetoe [Tutu] Assiantemba, Ossaerfo from Mampon; and Konno [Otutu Kono of Adukrom?] from Ojerepon[3] – they [assured] Ebicoram[4] that he would please tell the Holland whites that they strongly desired again to stand as their subjects, and . . . that they would please to regard all Ebicoran (has said) as true and to keep it secret so that while they were staying in the Danish Ossoe [Osu or Christiansborg] cron they will experience no evil.[5]

It is clear from this report that an external factor (as several times in the nineteenth century, mentioned in the next chapter) affected the internal fissionary tendencies. From 1776 until 1783, Danish sources are full of reports of rivalry between the Danes and Dutch to secure Akuapem as an ally in their quarrels at Accra.[6] This was the familiar pattern in the many local wars between the different

1 See references from English sources in Brokensha, 'Chief Akrofi of Larteh', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. VII, 1964, pp. 12–23

2 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, *Furley Collections*, letter from Van der Puye, 1 May 1772

3 Some of the names of the rulers of the towns mentioned can be traced from Fianko's chiefs' list (pp. 95–110). There is no doubt, for instance, that Sari of the Dutch version was Osae Ntifo of Aburi whom Isert met during his visit to the hills in 1786 and mentioned in his tenth letter as 'Osain, an old man of about 80 years'. He was the successor of Ofei Agyeman who became Aburihene in about 1730 on the death of Opon Tenten the leader of the rebel group from Aburi.

4 This is Obirikoran of Akyem Abuakwa, who had in 1775 been deposed by the Asantehene Osei Kojo as Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa; he went into exile, and in alliance with Fante and sometimes Akuapem chiefs caused much trouble to Asante traders. Danish sources, from 1772 until 1783 when he was restored to his position as the Okyenhene, are full of reports about him.

5 W.I.C. Papers, *Furley Collections*, 14 and 16 February 1778

6 Uldall, Saml., fol. 130, Aarestrup's Memo on Dutch-Danish Dispute of 1775–77

European nations on the Gold Coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1] It appears from this report, which is confirmed by Danish reports,[2] that Atiemo, the Okuapemhene, and some of Akuapem towns were in favour of a Danish alliance whilst the rest of the towns of Akuapem had wished for an alliance with the Dutch. On June 8, 1776, for instance, the Danes recorded that 'Caboceer Attiembo and 600 men swore oath of allegiance to the Danes'.[3] In December of the same year another Danish source is quoted as saying 'Attiembo and 1400 men have refused to leave the Danes for great Dutch offers'.[4]

It appears, therefore, that this inclination of Atiemo towards alliance with the Danes rather than with the Dutch had been used as an occasion for revolt by a large number of Akuapem towns against him. Though there was the element of external influence in this fissionary tendency, it is clear from the names of the towns involved in the crisis of 1778 as well as that of 1772 that it was a revolt by the older communities against the new overlords. In the first revolt of 1772, Amanokrom naturally took the side of the Okuapemhene, though the reason for the support of Late is not easy to explain; and in the 1778 revolt the fact that Late joined the rebel forces is significant. Brokensha's account of the late nineteenth century attempt by Chief Akrofi of Late-Ahenease to declare himself independent of the Okuapemhene underlines these fissionary tendencies.

If Atiemo succeeded in suppressing this revolt, it was not by any serious measures he took but by the fact that by 1783, the Dutch had ceased to be interested in Akuapem, or in eastern Ghana as a whole; their interest was becoming particularly attached to Asante and the coast around Elmina, though they did not abandon Fort Crevecoeur at Accra.[5]

The internal political crises seem to have died down after the death of the Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo – and during the reign of his next three successors, Awuku Fenenee (1792–1802), Ohene Kuma (1802) and Kwao Saforo Twe (1802–1816), the Akuapem state seemed peaceful internally. Awuku Fenenee's reign may have been peaceful for two reasons. Firstly, his father came from Aburi, and as a result of this connection any signs of revolt from that quarter may have been suppressed.[6] As will be seen below, family connections played a part in Akuapem politics. In the crisis of the 1840s, between Okuapemhene Adum and

1 Ward, *A History of Ghana*, pp. 81–103

2 V. G. K. Palaverbøger, 14 May and 8 June 1776

3 *Ibid.*, 14 May 1776

4 *Ibid.*, 24 December 1776. See also Uldall, Saml., Fol. 130, Aarestrup's Memo on Dutch-Danish Dispute 1775–77. See details of the offer in Chapter 4.

5 Dutch records in the *Furley Collections* become less informative about the eastern coast around about 1778 and rather detailed on the western coast of modern Ghana. The Danes on the other hand began, from 1783 onwards, to take a new attitude towards the eastern coast – the idea of developing plantations as a positive method of abolishing the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Later in the 1830s Maclean, in his despatches on the Anglo-Danish dispute over Akuapem and Krobo, said: 'In 1782 and 1788 the whole of the Netherlands' Forts on the coast with the exception of St. George D'Elmina were captured by the British forces . . . Great Britain thus has actual possession of them'. (Copy of Maclean's letter to the African Committee in the Danish State Archives, Copenhagen, in the packet containing letters from Stephen, Downing St., to Copenhagen, 4 June 1838.)

6 See Appendix II, genealogy and revised chiefs' list of the Okuapemhene's stool. The Aburi rulers were certainly a thorn in the flesh of the occupants of the Okuapemhene's stool. The events of 1772 and 1778, mentioned above, and those of the 1830s led by Kwafum, the Aburihene, to be mentioned below, support this statement.

Owusu Akyem, Adum's main support came from Tutu due certainly to the fact that his mother, Aku, was half-related to the Mankrado house of Tutu.[1] The second probable reason for the peaceful reign of Awuku Fenenee may be due to the inactivity of the external factors which influenced the 1778 crises. The Danish-Dutch dispute over Ada and the area around in 1775–77 had ended by 1782 and 1783; the Danes had got a foothold in Akuapem as a result of the Isert Treaty of December 1788.[2] Awuku Fenenee could be a little less dependent on his divisional chiefs for income as a result of income which came to the stool from Isert's treaty.[3] For one can suspect strongly that one of the possible causes for the weakness of the Okuapemhene's stool was its impecuniosity as it lacked land – the main source of income during this period.

Ohene Kuma's reign was too short, only three months,[4] to be of any historical importance. Kwao Saforo Twe's reign was, for the most part, a period of war with the Asante and this may have overshadowed or cooled down any internal crisis during the period.

In the 1830s and 1840s, however, the internal politics of Akuapem witnessed another period of crisis. The first one, led by the Adontenhene, Kwafum of Aburi, was directed against the Okuapemhene, Addo Dunkwa, who had succeeded Saforo Twe in 1816.[5]

It is a complex situation involving three factors. The first was Addo Dankwa's relations with the Krobo, over whom, according to Reindorf, the Akuapem had assumed some sort of overlordship.[6] A serious quarrel between Akuapem and Krobo gave an opportunity to Mørch, the Danish governor of Christiansborg, to pursue his policy of strengthening Danish influence in Akuapem and Krobo which he thought were becoming British.[7] It is probable that Addo Dankwa might have been able to save his stool if he had not got involved in a third trouble, a breach of Akuapem custom which gave an opportunity to three divisional chiefs, Apagya Kofi, the Nifahene of Adukrom, Asiedu, the Benkumhene of Late-Ahenease, and the linchpin of the revolt, later described by Reindorf as the 'old fox', Kwafum, Adontenhene of Aburi, to obtain Addo Dankwa's deposition and get his ambitious nephew, Adum,[8] installed in his place.

It is not clear when Akuapem assumed the suzerainty over Krobo. The evidence that this position was achieved during the reign of Obuobi Atiemo by some writers seems unconvincing.[9] It is, however, possible, as G. E. Metcalfe says, that by Kwao Saforo Twe's reign this had been achieved[10]; for Kwao is known in

1 See Appendix II. 2 See below, Chapter 4 3 *Ibid.*

4 E. Samson, *A Short History of Akuapim and Akropong*, p. 6

5 Reindorf, pp. 307–14. See also G. E. Metcalfe, *Great Britian and Ghana*, pp. 144–5; E.C. 6(3), *Digest of Articles on Ghana in Basel Mission Periodicals*, Riis' report recorded in 1838 Magazine, pp. 30–32; Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 22 October 1836.

6 Reindorf, p. 307

7 See Chapter 4 for details on the Anglo-Danish rivalry over Akuapem.

8 There is an account in the Anon. *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 17, which says 'Adum used to raise a stool secretly in his room up towards the ceiling praying: "Heaven and earth my stool is too small, help me to get a bigger one to sit on".'

9 G. Nørregaard, *Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, Guld-kysten*, Copenhagen 1968, p. 319. He writes: 'they (Akuapem and Krobo) now seem to be different states although in Isert's time they were one people – however there is a possible misunderstanding on his part'. See also Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, 1962, pp. 197–8.

10 Metcalfe, *ibid.*

Akuapem traditions as having been a great threat to the Krobo and the Accra.[1] He and his successor Addo Dankwa may be 'the Akuapem kings whose influence and law ruled the country (Krobo), so that they not only became liable to heavy fines and extortions, but also kidnapping and even to murder'.[2]

The Krobo revolted as a result of these excessive extortions from their masters.[3] Addo Dankwa in his bid to punish his recalcitrant 'subjects' reported the matter to the Danish Governor, Mørch, who was on a visit to the missionary Riis at Akuropon. Mørch, who did not stop to find out if the matter could be settled by peaceful means, organised an expedition with an Akuapem contingent and forty men from the Danish garrison and an Osu (Christiansborg) contingent totalling about 600 to 800 men against the Krobo.[4] The expedition was a blow to Addo Dankwa's prestige. He lacked sufficient ammunition, and Mørch was not prepared to supply him with more, as he apparentely did not wish to take part in a fight which Addo Dankwa had planned. Addo Dankwa immediately started to fight once he found some Krobo people coming down the hill to fetch water. He became short of ammunition, and on the refusal of Mørch to give him more he broke camp and ordered a march back to Akuapem.[5]

In the skirmish between the Akuapem and the Krobo, the former lost 14 to 15 men, and the latter 42 dead and 60 to 70 wounded.[6]

When Addo Dankwa and his men returned to the hills, Kwafum and the other wing chiefs, Apagya Kofi of Adukrom and Asiedu of Late-Ahenease, offered the ill-disposed advice 'that the Danish Government was deceitful, weak and unreliable; and that they preferred throwing off their allegiance and declaring in favour of the English'.[7] Addo Dankwa relying on the sincerity of his wing chiefs agreed to this advice and when the Danish governor and his contingent were passing through Akuapem on their way back to Osu they were hooted at in every town.[8] The governor and his men, however, reached Osu safely and summoned Addo Dankwa and his sub-chiefs to appear before him to explain why they had deserted him on the battlefield.[9]

Meanwhile, 'the old fox' had been persuading the Akuapem chiefs to desert Addo Dankwa, and has also informed the Danish governor that they were only leading him to Accra to desert him; and introduced one Adum, a nephew of Addo Dankwa, as the man the Akuapem were prepared to accept as their new chief. Addo Dankwa was duly arrested at Accra, condemned as an outlaw, and Adum publicly proclaimed as 'king of Akuapem' by the Danes; and the Akuapem people were 'authorised to fight Ado, should he come up to the mountains'.[10] Later, through the influence of Maclean's administration at Cape Coast, Addo Dankwa was released, but he could not go to Akuropon. His difficulties increased when

1 *Native Reports in Tshi*, pp. 6–7 2 Reindorf, p. 307 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 307–8

4 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 12 February 1836

5 Reindorf, p. 310

6 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 12 February 1836

7 Reindorf, p. 311 8 *Ibid.*

9 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 27 November 1837

10 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 25 June 1836 and 22 October 1836; *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Riis' Report, recorded in 1838, pp. 30–2; Reindorf, pp. 312–13

Maclean went on leave to England. He tried to seek pardon from the Danish authorities at Accra, through the English officer in charge of James Fort, but without success.[1] He remained at Accra and in 1839 committed suicide at Pokuase.[2]

The deposition of Addo Dankwa as a sequel to his betrayal by Kwafum supported by the two other divisional chiefs was made possible by a breach of Akuapem custom by Addo Dankwa himself. This may have aided the divisional chiefs in getting a section of the Akuropon royal house to support them ; for customarily they could only exert influence in the choice and destoolment of a paramount chief as these divisional chiefs did, and did not belong to the kingmakers council at Akuropon. The details of the breach of custom has been given by Reindorf. He writes :

> It was the usual custom that when a person dies suddenly and there was any suspicion of his having been poisoned or put to death by any foul means, the body was carried by two men in a basket, which was believed to knock at the criminal ; and the man who was struck had to shoot himself or was beheaded by the king ; . . . Kwasi Adae became ill, poisoned, it was believed, by Aniapam, and was carried to Late to be treated by a doctor. He died there, after having told the people to carry his body home . . . the basket containing the body met Aniapam, it knocked him and, according to the custom, he must shoot himself or be beheaded. Both were members of the king's family and he, unwilling to lose two persons of them at once, proposed to pay any amount to the brothers of the deceased, but they refused to accept anything but justice. The Akuapems were enraged at this injustice of the king, and demanded that Aniapam must be punished . . . the Governor (Mørch) sent two soldiers to bring Aniapam and the brothers of the dead man to Christiansborg, that the matter might be settled there.[3]

The soldiers were unable to bring these men to Osu ; the Akuapem waylaid them and killed Aniapam, scattering the pieces of his body throughout the towns of Akuapem.

It was at this stage that Mørch summoned the Akuapem chiefs to Christiansborg to explain these troubles and their conduct during the last expedition against the Krobo. It was the occasion Kwafum used to get Addo Dankwa declared deposed by Mørch and Adum declared Okuapemhene instead. There Adum 'ate fetish to support the Danes'.[4]

The effect of Kwafum's treachery and the Danish act of deposition of Addo Dankwa was to raise a serious political and social crisis in Akuropon in particular and Akuapem in general. The Aburi people under Kwafum, and those of Adukrom, Late and Tutu supported Adum, while part of Akuropon and other towns supported Addo Dankwa.[5] Addo Dankwa kept the stool and Adum had to make a

1 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 22 October 1836 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 145

2 Samson, p. 9

3 Reindorf, pp. 311–12. See also Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 17 July 1837.

4 Guinesiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 27 November 1837.

5 *Ibid.*, 22 October 1836 ; also Reindorf, p. 313

new one for himself.[1] It marks one of the dynastic disputes that have bedevilled Akuapem politics ever since.[2] Andreas Riis, the missionary who had, barely twelve months before, arrived in Akuropon gives a vivid account of the political scene of Akuropon and Akuapem at the time:

> Ado Dankwa is in Accra, Adum at Larteh. He gets more and more supporters except three villages among them Akropong [the others were Atweasin, Dawu and part of Abiriw]. But even in Akropong Adum has supporters. Therefore there are scenes of revenge and bitterness right in Akropong, and one family after the other leaves the town to follow the new government of Adum under Danish protection. Akropong thus gradually becomes depopulated and rain ruins the abandoned houses. Adum, though supported by the Danes, cannot be enstooled, since the party of Ado Dankwa keeps the paraphernalia. Adum was angry about it and threatened to attack Akropong. The attack was expected on October 19, but was put off. Adum, however, tortures the people of the Ado Dankwa party if he catches one travelling through the regions. A fetish statue – a terrible spectre made from clay has been erected at Akropong at the outskirts on the way to Larteh, so as to terrify Adum's people.[3]

Addo Dankwa eventually committed suicide, and Adum was enstooled Okuapemhene; for the next seven years peace never came to Akuapem until he was exiled to Denmark on November 1st, 1845.[4] Addo Dankwa has been described by Riis as a man who had twenty wives, 'old but of sturdy constitution, active, kind, jovial and a man of keen intellect, knowing how to rule, loved and respected by many and feared by all'.[5] If this description of the man was true, it is a great pity that he allowed himself to be misled by Kwafum. His successor Adum was not a good choice as a ruler. Throughout his reign the missionaries never ceased to report of his acts of debauchery, cruelty and quarrels with his cousin and heir Owusu Akyem, which culminated in the death of the latter and Adum's arrest and exile.[6]

In 1843, Widmann, the great Basel missionary who had arrived at Akuropon with Riis after the latter's visit to Europe, reported on October 1st 1843, that when he and another missionary were returning from a visit to Abiriw they met 'duke' Adum in the evening heavily drunk and remarked that 'the poor man is spoiling his game by drinking much – no wonder that he is not respected'.[7] Earlier in the year when Widmann visited the Abiriwhene, Kwasi Taa, whom he

1 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 17 July 1837

2 The Okuapemhene's stool has been a centre of destoolment, abdication and reinstallation. The most recent one has been the case of Twumhene and Kwame Fori II (the present Okuapemhene). See 'Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Governor of the Gold Coast to investigate the propriety of the reinstallation of an ex-Omanhene Nana Kwame Fori II, 1952'.

3 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals, 1828–51*; Riis' report on arrival at Akuropon, April 1836

4 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 1 November 1845

5 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals, 1828-51;* Riis' Report on arrival at Akuropon, April 1836

6 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals, 1844–45*; Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 13 January and 26 February 1845

7 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, 1 October 1843

described as 'the high priest of Akwapim, who is also chief of Abiriw . . . very considerate man', much discussion about the bad character of Adum took place between the two men.[1] The missionaries also, on several occasions, had to intervene to save a number of arrested slaves kept in chains from being executed by Adum.[2]

The quarrel between Adum and Owusu was one of the episodes which disturbed the political scene of Akuapem. Owusu Akyem[3] was the son of one Ofei Koranten, an Asante Resident in Akuapem (possibly in the closing decade of the eighteenth century) by one of the princesses, Aberewa Ntomo. Owusu Akyem was taken to Kumasi when Koranten's duties in Akuapem came to an end. In Kumasi he was trained at the Asantehene's court and became one of the royal body guards in the Asante army. He was captured by Kwadwo Otibu of Denkyira in the Akantamansu War, 1826, but he was ransomed by his uncle, Okuapemhene Addo Dankwa, and Kwaw Abonua. He was brought to Akuropon but he was unpopular in Akuropon, for his alleged treatment to Saforo Twe, the Okuapenhene (1802–16).[4] He could not live in the capital and founded his own village at Bewase and called the place *Eha Nsua*.[5]

Owusu Akyem began immediately to struggle with Adum on his return to his maternal home where he had right of succession. The first dispute was over succession to an uncle, Kwaw Abiri. Adum was selected heir, but on the advice of Addo Dankwa who promised to nominate him as heir-apparent to the Okuapemhene's stool, he gave way to Owusu Akyem who was anxious to succeed the uncle.[6]

The more serious clash came in 1844–45. By then Adum's unpopularity in Akuropon had reached its highwater mark, though he still had support in some Akuapem towns particularly Tutu and Mampon.[7] On 4 May 1844 the kingmakers elected Owusu Akyem 'as vice-duke, since Adum was ruining the land and did not want to stay here in Akropong'.[8] Since August 1843, Adum had not stayed at Akuropon. Early in August, as a result of executions he ordered for the funeral celebration of Addo Dankwa, he was arrested by soldiers from Christiansborg. But on the way to Accra, he was detained at Tutu for two reasons. Firstly, the missionaries at Akuropon had sent a letter to the Danish governor asking him to spare his life; secondly, 'the people there would not permit him to go'.[9] Though

1 *Ibid.*, 25 June 1843

2 *Ibid.*, 18 January 1844

3 This background of his life and his quarrels with Adum are recorded by Samson, pp. 7–10 and in the Mission magazine digest in the Ghana National Archives.

4 Kwaw Saforo Twe is known to have been betrayed into the hands of the Asante in 1816 by Addo Dankwa who succeeded him. The part Owusu Akyem played is not known, perhaps as a member of the Asante army at the time he may have shared in the manner in which the Okuapemhene was killed.

5 *Eha Nsua* is a Twi expression which literally means 'This place is not small'.

6 Samson, p. 9

7 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, 18 January and July 1844; Guineiske Journaler, Lutterodt to Copenhagen, 14 September 1844

8 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, 4 May 1844

9 *Ibid.*, 18 January 1844; Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen's letters to Copenhagen, 13 and 14 January and 26 February 1845.

he visited Akuropon from time to time, he made his stay at Tutu almost permanent.[1] This had led to the installation of a regent in the person of Owusu Akyem. The latter had accepted this position on condition that the large number of people 'who had been living on their plantations (villages) should return after three years to Akropong and repair their collapsed huts. People agreed and are already beginning to do their part'.[2]

This situation in Akuropon had perhaps served to widen the little rift in the lute. Relations between Adum and Owusu Akyem divided not only Akuropon, but also the Akuapem state. Though Adum had little support in Akuropon, he could count on the whole of Mampon and Tutu.[3] Owusu Akyem was, however, to lose the large support he had had among the rest of the chiefs and people of Akuapem by his inept handling of an incident which brought an end to his life, and caused Adum also to lose his stool.

One Amoako Ntakrakyew (the chief's 'soul'), committed adultery with one of Addo Dankwa's widows who, by custom, had become Adum's wives. Amoako was arrested and detained awaiting execution. Then one Ohene Yaw committed the same offence with the same woman, but was not arrested. Owusu Akyem and some of his leading supporters at Akuropon thereupon released Amoako and got Adum arrested and kept in custody by Atiemo, the Kurontihene. Adum was, however, released through the intercession of the missionaries led by Riis, and was taken to the mission station where Reverend Halluer provided him with refuge in his house. The people of Tutu and Mampon took up arms on behalf of Adum. When the matter reached Christiansborg, Governor Carstensen was on leave in Denmark; the situation was, however, contained by Riis and Lutterodt.[4] When the Governor returned, he summoned Adum and Owusu Akyem to Christiansborg to explain the cause of unrest in Akuapem. Owusu Akyem, hitherto popular among the chiefs of Akuapem, had lost much of his support by his arrest of Adum, so he had little following – only his Akuropon supporters accompanied him to Osu. There Carstensen, who should have handled such an explosive situation himself and within the walls of the castle, left the matter in the hands of chiefs and elders of Osu, who tried to hold a court of arbitration outside the fort.[5] The result was a quarrel in which Owusu Akyem and his brother Kofi Kra were killed.[6] There is a concise account of this incident by Duncan and this is worth quoting. He wrote in February 1845:

> The chief of the Aquapim country had a rival in his own brother, who estab-

1 An envoy of Governor Carstensen called Jorgen Sonne brought Adum back to Akuropon, warning him that if he left the capital again he would forfeit his stool. See Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 14 February 1845.

2 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, 4 May 1844

3 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 26 February 1845. Adum's mother (called Aku) was half-related to Tutu; hence the support given by Tutu people to Adum. See Appendix II.

4 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, May-August 1844; Guineiske Journaler, Lutterodt to Copenhagen, 14 September 1844.

5 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 13 January 1845; Reindorf, p. 316

6 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 13 January 1845; E.C. 6(3) *Basel Mission Periodicals*, 1844–45

lished his claim upon the grounds that, although not the lawful heir, he had been chosen, as was the custom, by the people; the decision of the matter was, therefore, referred to the arbitration of the Governor of the Danish fort at Accra. The rival chiefs . . . repaired to Accra and waited in the market place until their arrival was announced to the Governor. During the interval . . . high words ensued, and the usurping party withdrew to their houses where they had deposited their arms, with which they immediately returned; and, without ceremony, fired upon their opponents, killing and wounding several of them. . . . This enraged not only the opposing party, but also the people of Danish Accra, who instantly attacked and pursued their assailants, who immediately fled. They were, however, speedily overtaken, and compelled to fight, several on both sides were killed. Six of the chiefs of the usurping party were beheaded, with their chief Owoosoo. . . . When the Danish governor was informed of this he went himself to the Aquapim country in order to settle, if possible, their palaver. . . . The names of the rival chiefs were Andoom [Adum] and Owoosoo.[1]

Adum was arrested in January 1845[2] and was kept in the Christiansborg castle until his deportation to Denmark in November the same year.[3] He was brought back to the Gold Coast in 1850.[4] In March 1846, the Danish governor, Carstensen, supervised the installation of a new Okuapemhene, chosen outside the factions of Adum and Owusu Akyem, at Akuropon. He became Kwadade I, known to the Danes as Ohine Kuma.[5] His reign marked an end of the political unrest that had hit Akuropon in particular and Akuapem in general since the reign of Addo Dankwa.

Though ethnic differences with their inherent diversified language or dialects and customs and the interference by outside powers were the main causes for the revolts by the divisional chiefs against the centre, the weak financial position of the Okuapemhene may have been an important factor. The Okuapemhene lacked adequate sources of income to make him an effective ruler like his colleagues in Akyem Abuakwa or Asante.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one of the main sources of revenue was land. Though the paramount chief in an Akan state did and does not own the land of his state, he has right of jurisdiction over the lands,[6] and as C. C. Reindorf rightly says, 'when gold is dug for and a nugget found, the king claims a third of it'.[7] Besides this right of jurisdiction, there are lands attached to the Akan stools or the Guan priest-stools. Revenue from sale of products from these stool lands, which in Akuapem in the eighteenth century, included grain and other food stuff,[8]

1 Duncan, *Travels in West Africa 1845–46*, Vol. 1, London 1846, p. 82

2 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 13 January 1845; E.C. 6(3) *Basel Mission Periodicals*, January 1845

3 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 1 November 1845

4 Guineiske Journaler, Reventlow to Palmerston, 7 October 1850; Palmerston to Reventlow, 15 October 1850; Kiøbenhavn Politikammer to Finantsministeriet Kiøbenhavn, 16 July 1850

5 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 2 March 1846

6 Hill, p. 148 7 Reindorf, p. 108

8 Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204; Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast*, p. 227

and in the nineteenth century palm oil, may have given some revenue to the chiefs. But in Akuapem since the Omanhene was a late-comer, the extent of land made available when the dynasty was established in 1733 was small indeed compared with that of the pre-existing rulers.[1] Perhaps the creation of the various state servants around the Okuapemhene's court in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries was a means of increasing the land holding of the new dynasty since each stool had land attached. Most of these Akuropon stool occupants own lands along the road to Koforidua on the western side of the hills. R. M. Rumsey noted in 1882 twenty villages along this road belonging to chiefs of Akuropon.[2] In the mid eighteenth century this area seems to have been comparatively empty and the land almost ownerless.[3]

Income from trade was another source of revenue to most Akan states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But the Akuapem people were not great traders, though their country was used as a trade path by people from such commercially minded states as Akyem and Asante. Thus it cannot be argued that the Okuapemhene made any income here to offset the lack of income from land. He was unable to develop the elaborate system of Akwamu or Asante for collecting custom 'duties' from traders passing through the territory. Instead we are told by Isert and Biørn that Asante Residents were at Mamfe collecting tolls from traders to and from Accra.[4] Nor did Akuapem ever have possession of any of the 'Notes' of the European forts on the coast from which it could obtain annual rent due, such as Akwamu, Akyem and Asante succesively had over the Accra forts.

However, this gap in the source of income to the Okuapemhene's stool was filled in the 1780s by the provisions of Isert's Treaty.[5] Biørn also wrote: 'He [Obuobi Atiemo, the Okuapemhene] receives monthly 8 rdl. slave-price besides an annual present during his Yam Festival, of similar article as [given] to the king of Asianthe, however reasonably simple in quality to about 200 rdl. gold value.'[6] This piece of evidence from Biørn seems to suggest that the Okuapemhene had been receiving the monthly payment some time before Isert's Treaty was made. For he continues: 'This man Atiambo has for many years been, and is still, attached to us the Danish . . . furthermore it can be expected that he is our true ally, together with his heir Aikufrune [Awuku Fenenee].'[7]

It is difficult to say whether the income from this source was regular up to the end of the Danish trading company activities on the Gold Coast. Fortunately, however, references were made to it at various times in the first half of the nineteenth century. Monrad, a Danish chaplain at Christiansborg from 1805–9, made a short reference to it: 'The Duke of Aquapim and the King of Ashantee who are both in friendly trade relations with us . . . receive what one calls customs . . .

1 Polly Hill (p. 212) writes: 'Here it is merely noted that Mamfe's early prosperity may have been connected with the large extent of her local lands in relation to her population'.

2 C.3687, Further Correspondence regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, August 1882, pp. 29–32

3 Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', pp. 11–13

4 Isert, *Iserts Breve*, p. 153; Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204

5 See below Chapter 4 for details of payments to be made to the Okuapemhene and his 'Grandees' and of the Treaty.

6 Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204. On the Gold Coast in the eighteenth century, the rigsdaler was calculated at about 5s.

7 Biørn, *Beretning*, pp. 204–5

such as tobacco, pipes and brandywine.'[1] Schiønning, the governor of Danish Christiansborg 1807–17, was more explicit. He wrote to the English Governor Dawson in 1811, that 'the kings of Akim and Aquapim are receiving annual payment from Christiansborg Castle. They had also sworn allegiance to the Danish authorities many years ago.'[2] In 1817 the Customs and Commerce Board, Copenhagen, in a report to the Royal department of foreign affairs wrote: 'The ruler in Aquapim and some important persons together receive 108 rd. annually for showing benevolence towards the Danes.'[3] A year after Edward Carstensen's assumption of duty as governor of Danish Osu, proposals were made to cut down the payment to all chiefs and Africans receiving money 'for good conduct', and in the following year, 1844, it was stopped.[4]

Besides the direct and perhaps regular payment, there was another source of income the Okuapemhene and his elders received from the agents of the Danish trading company. There were 'dashes' given not only by the Danes but also the Dutch to secure special advantages – the friendship of the Akuapem state, and particularly their assistance in their quarrels in the 1770s; and also there were 'dashes' given for services rendered. During the 1770s there were several attempts by the Dutch and the Danes to secure the friendship and assistance of the Akuapem state in their quarrels on the coast; and to this end both nations offered gifts of several kinds to the Okuapemhene and other important people in the state.[5]

Loot obtained in successful raids on Asante traders and on Krobo people also formed an important source of income. As will be seen in the next chapter, the Akuapem people, with the backing of the central authority, made a number of raids on Asante traders to and from the coast in the eighteenth century. It is probable that valuable loot was obtained, though there is no evidence of the actual material gains. However, in 1826, the Akuapem force led by the unfortunate chief Addo Dankwa obtained valuable possessions. An account of this war in the Danish State Archives states:

> When the Assianthees found themselves hard pursued in the action, their king in an act to draw the attention of his enemies from the engagement, ordered his people to throw what they had by them of gold and valuables and retreat . . . the combatants . . . fell over the prey and possession of the plunder . . . it was the Danish natives[6] who took possession of this immense plunder.[7]

From the Krobo state the Akuapem chiefs, particularly Kwao Saforo Twe and

1 H. C. Monrad, *Om Guineakysten og dens Indbyggere 1805 til 1809*, Copenhagen 1822

2 Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Governor J. Dawson, 20 June 1811

3 Guineiske Journaler, General Toldkammer og Commerce Collegium til det kongelige Departement for de Udenlanske Sager. 19 July 1817; copies were sent to the Danish Ambassadors in Paris and London, 27 June 1818.

4 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen and George Lutterodt to Copenhagen, 22 August 1843, 12 December 1843; and Carstensen to Copenhagen, 30 June 1844.

5 For a brief account of the Danish-Dutch dispute of 1775–77 see Chapter 4.

6 The Danish negroes were listed as: 'the Aquambo, the Ackim and Aquapim'.

7 Guineiske Journaler, 'Extract from the Battle with the Assianthees' (from *The Times* 1826)

Addo Dankwa, made raids for slaves partly for payment of their tribute to Asante and partly for sale at the coast to raise money for the coffers of the state.[1]

Though it seems probable that a large proportion of the state revenue came from external sources – gratuities from European nations, sale of agricultural products to outside markets, and the income from the slave trade – there may have been an appreciable portion of the revenue raised by the Okuapemhene from internal sources. An obvious source was fines for swearing Akuapem oaths. Reindorf says, 'of the Akuapem oaths, the fines vary from £3 to £10 or even £30'.[2] Such fines could thus be heavy and frequent, and some of the Akuapem chiefs had occasion to complain against Addo Dankwa over the futile expedition with the Danish governor, Mørch, against the Krobo in 1835.[3]

It is not possible to estimate how much revenue the state had annually, as incomes of the states on the Gold Coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not based on gold payments alone, but in addition, slaves, cowries and sometimes firewood.[4] However, it can be said that the revenue of the Akuapem state was not considerable as compared with that of such states as Asante or Akyem which possessed the precious gold mineral within their boundaries, apart from sources from the European nations. Akuapem thus largely remained a relatively poor state until the coming of palm oil, and more important, cocoa.

In summing up this chapter one can say the Okuapemhene wielded comparatively little power over the subordinate chiefs in the state, as is still the case today. He was and still is less powerful than the Asantehene or the Okyenhene (the paramount chief of Akyem Abuakwa), in whom some traces of central control of political power in the Akan system can still be found. Thus the casual reference to the political authority of Atiemo over his state made by Biørn in 1788 in his short account of the Akuapem state may be a real picture of the situation. He writes:

> This prince (Aquapim or Hill Cabusseer Atiambo) has an inherited absolute monarchy [*arvelig Eenevolds Magt*] over his subjects, but conducts a very lenient rule, whereby his subordinates remain [as] self-governing.[5]

This weak power possessed by the Okuapemhene is confirmed, more than fifty years later, by H. N. Riis, in his observation already cited in this chapter, that the Akuapem towns 'form as many political communities, each has its own caboceer, who with a council . . . is ruler and judge of his town'.

1 Reindorf, p. 308 2 *Ibid.*, p. 109 3 *Ibid.*

4 In 1837 when Governor Mørch fined certain Akuapem chiefs the sum of 1500 heads of cowries, the amount was 'paid chiefly with firewood to prepare lime for the repairing of the castle'. See Reindorf, pp. 161–2. In 1837 one head of cowries was equal to approx. 5/–: thus 1500 heads would be about £375.

5 Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204

CHAPTER THREE

Akuapem and Asante

The Akuapem state emerged at a time of great upheaval in the history of Ghana. The period from 1650 to 1750 was one characterised by great movements of peoples and the rise and fall of nation states. This phenomenon was influenced by the fact that the mid seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were also a period of great expansion of European trade on the Gold Coast; and in the eighteenth century in particular each of the trading nations began to use the local states as instruments in their policy of expanding their commercial influence on the coast. The Akuapem State did not remain isolated in this game. Situated on one of the main routes[1] to the coastal trading stations, it was bound to become involved in the Asante drive to open direct contact with the European trading nations.

It is now known that the first Asante drive to the coast was not the invasion of Fanteland in 1807 by the Asantehene Osei Bonsu (1801–24); one of the earliest had been initiated by one his great predecessors Opoku Ware (1720–50) in 1742, whose main objective was war with the traditional enemy of the Asante, the Akyem Abuakwa.[2]

With the overthrow of Akwamu power in 1730, and the establishment of a dynasty of Akyem Abuakwa origin in the hills, there developed a more or less permanent system of alliance between Akyem Abuakwa and the new Akuapem state. The result of this 'family compact' was to bring Akuapem permanently into hostility with Asante. Until 1730 the Akuapem hills had been at peace so far as Asante was concerned. The reasons are not difficult to discover.

In the first place Asante had not yet emerged as a coastal power; perhaps the Akyem states – Abuakwa and Kotoku – had been an impregnable barrier to any designs they might have entertained on the eastern coast. Secondly, and more important, there had been a bond of friendship between Akwamu, which was the suzerain power over the hill country, and Asante since the days of Osei Tutu. Wilks writes:

> During the reigns of Ansa Sasraku and Basua, Akwamu appears to have given considerable material assistance to the rising Ashanti Union, presumably seeing

1 Isert, *Iserts Breve*, 1917, p. 153; Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204; Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', p. 5

2 Details of the war of 1742, in which Akuapem was involved, will be given below. The Dutch, Danish and English sources are full of the events of this war and the Asante raid along the coast of Accra and Teshi. It is also believed that an Asante army invading Aowin, had reached the coast at Cape Apolonia in Nzima in 1715. See K. Y. Daaku, 'The Fall of Ahwene Koko and its significance in Ashanti History', Departmental Seminar, Legon, February 1968.

> Ashanti in a strong Ashanti a balance to the might of Akyem. . . . The Akwamu and alliance was one that was to persist, with one important exception[1] at the time of Katamanso, 1826, until Akwamu was to join the Gold Coast colony in 1886. Perhaps the most noteworthy result of this alliance was to be seen after the overwhelming Akwamu defeat of 1730, when it was only a series of Ashanti attacks upon Akim that enabled Akwamu to effect a partial recovery and to save, for a time at least, some parts of the empire in the east and north.[2]

This Asante assistance to Akwamu, which was perhaps the linchpin of the friendship between the two states, had its origin in the traditions connected with Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye. Unfortunately, there is no source from contemporary European records to support the traditions; but as J. K. Fynn rightly points out 'there is no reason to doubt the general veracity of these accounts, because the Ashanti traditions were essentially tales connected with the consolidation and rise of the kingdom'.[3] Osei Tutu definitely is known to history; and in contemporary European records he is called 'Zay, the king of Asiante'.[4]

Both Asante and Akwamu traditions have it that Obiri Yeboa, Kwamanhene, uncle and predecessor of Osei Tutu, had no brothers or nephews who could eventually become heir to the Kwaman stool. In order to consolidate the dynasty he was representing, he sent his only sister, Manu Kotosii, who was childless, to Otutu, a renowned shrine at Awukugua in the Akuapem hills, at that time an Akwamu territory. In Awukugua, her supplication for a son was answered and Osei Tutu – named after the shrine – was born.

Another version of the legend continues that Obiri Yeboa sent his young nephew to the court of Denkyira for training. At the Denkyira court Osei found pleasure outside his studies in an affair with Abena Bensua a sister of the Denkyirahene; and when it became known that she was pregnant Osei had to flee to Kwaman. His uncle, fearing the wrath of Denkyirahene, advised him to seek refuge in Akwamu. While there, his personal beauty and amiable character won for him the friendship of Akwamuhene, Ansa Sasraku. When Osei Tutu was recalled to Kwaman, on the death of his uncle, he was accompanied not only by Okomfo Anokye of Awukugua, priest of the Otutu shrine, but also by a body of Akwamu troops provided by Ansa Sasraku, to give him safe conduct through enemy country to Kwaman.

Thus from this legend connected with Osei Tutu, the founder of Asante Union and Okomfo Anokye, who subsequently became his chief adviser, Akwamu had every claim to having played a decisive role in the creation of Asante; thus it gained the friendship and at times assistance of its powerful neighbour. An instance of this Asante assistance to its now weaker ally occurred in 1742, when Opoku Ware, Osei Tutu's successor, made it clear that he was making war against Akyem:

1 As already discussed in chapter 2, the period 1717–30 may be the first 'important exception' in the Akwamu-Asante relations mentioned by Wilks. He, however, does not examine the reason why Asante did not come to the aid of Akwamu at the time when the Empire was threatened and destroyed and rather chose to help it recover from the heavy and mortal blow it had received.

2 Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire', p. 126

3 J. K. Fynn, 'The Rise of Ashanti', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, No. 9, November 1966, p. 25

4 Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description*, p. 77

> To serve the Quomboos [the Akwamu] who were drove out of their country by the Akims; and . . . to serve the Danes because they assisted the Quomboos.[1]

It was in this war against Akyem in 1742 that Akuapem had its first encounter with Asante arms; until this time the Akuapem hills had been at peace so far as Asante was concerned. It was the overthrow of Akwamu and the ascendancy of Akyem Abuakwa in the south-eastern part of Ghana which were to turn the attention of the Asante ruler, Opoku Ware, towards the south-eastern coast.

Though there is no direct evidence from the contemporary correspondence of the European trading nations that Akuapem took part in this war as an ally of Akyem-Abuakwa, it can be assumed that if the latter had asked for assistance from the 'chiefs of Labade', Tessie (Teshi), Tema, Prampam and Ningo,[2] over whom they had established a feeble sort of suzerainty after the destruction of Akwamu power, Akuapem would probably assist Akyem Abuakwa. Roemer, a Danish merchant at Christiansborg in the 1740s, on the other hand, states categorically that 'the Akims wanted the Accras, the mountain-negroes, the Adampes and the Ada negroes as their allies'.[3] The activities of Owusu in the hills and at Accra between December 1737 and March 1738 also suggest that the Akuapem would assist Akyem Abuakwa if the latter became involved in war. This assumption may be correct, for Owusu who was directly involved in the 1742 war[4] had, according to the Danish governor Biørn, been given control of Akuapem after the overthrow of Akwamu power.[5]

The identity of Owusu is not very easy to determine. Reindorf mentions one Owusu Akyem as one of 'the three kings of Akyem' with 'Ba Kwante and Firempong Manso',[6] as the other two. This cannot be Owusu Akyem, in the Akyem Abuakwa chiefs' list,[7] who reigned after Pobi, successor of Bakwante, as the Owusu known in the contemporary European records and the Owusu Akyem of Reindorf died in the Asante-Akyem war of 1742 together with Bakwante.[8] He is described at times in the European records as nephew and heir-apparent and at times as King Ussue,[9] or as war-captain,[10] of Bakwante. Owusu did not ascend the

1 T70/1515, letter from Richard Graves to Cape Coast Castle, 3 April 1742

2 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Kuijl, to Elmina, 5 December 1741

3 Roemer, 'The Coast of Guinea', p. 29. See also Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 80

4 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence. Despatch from Des Bordes, Director General, Elmina to Assembly of X, 14 April 1738. The report has it that Dutch messengers sent from Accra to Akyem found Owusu in active preparation for war against the Asante, the rumour of the war being current at the coast at this time.

5 Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 203

6 Reindorf, p. 78

7 Fianko, *Twifo Amammuisem*, p. 108

8 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea, letter from Fergensen to Company, 1742. Also W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from H. Jansen at Apem to van Kuijl, Accra, n.d., but in the notebook containing letters of March 1742. See also Reindorf, pp. 76–8 and p. 81.

9 *Beretning*, p. 203

10 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, Despatch from Des Bordes, Director General, Elmina to Assembly of X, 14 April 1738

Akyem Abuakwa stool, for there is no evidence from the Abuakwa chiefs' list.[1] He may have been a powerful war-captain of some independence of action on certain occasions. On the other hand Biørn's reference to him as 'King Ussue' may be of some interest. We are told by Biørn in 1788 that Owusu was given jurisdiction of the Akuapem hills in 1732, after the overthrow of Akwamu power. It is possible that he was referring to him as 'King of Akuapem'. If that is acceptable, Owusu may have been nothing more than an Abuakwa governor of Akuapem, though resident in Banso, the Akyem Abuakwa capital. Another assumption one can make out of this is that if Owusu was an Abuakwa governor of the Akuapem hills, he may have been a check on the free action of Fianko Betuafo in his bid to organize the hill country into an independent Akuapem State, and it was not until after the death of Owusu in the Akyem-Asante war of 1742 that the new overlords in Akuapem became really independent of Akyem Abuakwa.

On 7 December 1737 the Dutch factor and governor of the Accra fort, Starckenburg, reported that Owusu of Akyem had encamped in the Akuapem hills and was ready to attack one Darko of Dutch Accra. The report claimed that this attack had been provoked by the Danes and Oukijntja (Okaidza), founder of the Gbese quarter in Accra.[2] Seven days later, a further report from the same source stated that Owusu was still in the hills and his design was to come down to Accra to defend and release Okaidza[3] who had been arrested and detained by the Dutch authorities in Accra for spreading false rumours (which had reached the Akyem) that the Dutch had sent messengers to Asante 'to persuade them with promises of gifts' to attack the Akyem 'and then to wage war against them so long until their total ruin resulted'.[4] Owusu eventually arrived at Accra with his troops, perhaps assisted by a contingent from Akuapem on 23 December, but this first attack effected nothing.[5] In January of the following year the encounter was probably serious and widespread for Okaidza's men and troops from Labadi, Teshi and Ningo as well as Danish Accra helped Owusu against Dutch Accra; yet again the encounter was indecisive.[6] Reports from Danish sources, though, confirmed the presence of Owusu in Accra in January 1738; on the other hand they reported that his mission was to settle a dispute between Darko[7] and the Accra negroes; and that he wanted the ground rent on the Ningo fort which the Danes had already decided to give him[8]; for it was with this same Owusu that the Danes made

1 Fianko, p. 108

2 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Starckenburg to the Director General, Elmina, 4 December 1737. Though Okaidza belonged strictly to Dutch Accra, his quarrel with Darko led him into a temporary flirtation with the Danes. According to C. C. Reindorf, he visited Holland at the expense of the Dutch company on the coast. He returned to Accra and got involved in a stool dispute, an account of which is given by Reindorf, pp. 98–103.

3 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Starckenburg to the Director General, Elmina, 11 December 1737

4 Dutch Records, Minutes of the Council (8), 27 May 1737

5 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Starckenburg, 23 December 1737

6 *Ibid.*, 16 January 1738

7 Darko may be 'Dako Panyin, the chief of Otu-street (Otublohum)' who had a quarrel with Okaidza. See Reindorf, p. 92.

8 V.G.K. Sekretprotokoller fra Christiansborg, entry dd. 26 January 1738

agreement for the building of the fort, Fredensborg, in 1736.[1] By the end of January, Owusu's activities in Accra came to an end. He departed into the Akuapem hills, rumours circulating around that he would be back in Accra within eight days.[2] However, he finally left for Akyem by the beginning of March[3] after securing Okaidza under Danish protection.[4]

Before Owusu's departure from the Akuapem hills for Akyem, an embassy from Bakwante and Frempon, chiefs of Abuakwa and Kotoku respectively, had arrived at the Dutch fort in Accra to promise that they would assist the Dutch to open the trade routes, and denied their association with the bad activities of 'their Brother Owusu'.[5] This belated intervention of Bakwante and Frempon in the quarrels between Owusu and the Dutch may have been a mere diplomatic move (as des Bordes, the Director General of the Dutch trading company at Elmina, was inclined to believe) on the part of these two 'principals' to secure more arms from the Dutch to supplement what they had been buying from the Danish fort since 1737.[6] In fact, des Bordes, in a despatch to Holland in April 1738, giving an account of the activities of Owusu, suggested 'that Owusu had acted on secret orders from his principals'.[7]

The two Akyem rulers had to secure more arms because the rumours of Asante attack were becoming facts; and up to December 1741 they were desperately purchasing goods 'especially muskets, powder and spirit' and the Asante invasion was only a matter of time; the Akyem 'were busy daily in order to fight the Ashantees . . . and had no fear of King Poekoe'.[8] More interesting news was that the Akwamu remnants in the old Akwamu state, now ruled by the Akyem, 'were looting and panyarring with impunity'.[9] The Akwamu were perhaps encouraged in their activities by the promise of Asantehene Opoku Ware that he was coming to restore them to their former status.[10] It was at this stage that the Akyem sought the assistance of the chiefs of Labade, Teshi, Tema, Prampram, Ningo and Akuapem. It appears, however, that the response from these 'allies' was a feeble one. In Accra only Darko Panyin, chief of Otublohum quarter in Dutch Accra, sent a contingent to help the Akyem; and from Akuapem there was only a handful of troops.[11] The result was that the Akyem and their allies suffered a devasting defeat at the hands of the Asante army.

A major battle lasting three days took place on Akyem soil in March 1742 near the river Benna, after the Asante had overrun the now weak Denkyira state. The Akyem were believed to have kept the enemy at bay for some time during the first day of the battle through their bravery and large numbers. Both sides lost a large number of men and became short of powder. It was the bows and arrows of

1 *Ibid.* See also Biørn, *Beretning*, pp. 203–4.

2 Dutch Records, Minutes of the Council signed by Des Bordes, Barovius, Roems, Hobroek and Verscheurer, 29 January 1738

3 *Ibid.* 6 March 1738 4 *Ibid.*, 26 February 1738 5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, 27 May 1737 7 Despatch des Bordes to Assembly of X, 14 April 1738

8 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Kuijl, 4 December 1741

9 *Ibid.*

10 Dutch Records, Despatch from des Bordes to Assembly of X, 14 April 1738

11 Roemer, p. 29; also Reindorf, p. 80

northern warriors hired by the Asante which decided the issue, as the rains rendered the guns of both sides useless.[1] It was a great victory for the Asante, the Akyem suffering great losses in men and wealth. The two Akyem rulers, Owusu and Frempon, died, and the third Bakwante, fell into the hands of the Asante[2]; later he committed suicide, and many of the Akyem war captains shot themselves as a result of the death of their great hero.[3] A heavy fine was also imposed on the two Akyem states, apart from the great booty the Asante carried away.[4] In April, the Asante army arrived at the coast carrying the jaw-bones of the dead Akyem war leaders.[5] From this period until July 1743, they remained at the coast plundering the English fort at Prampram and demanding from the Dutch 110 Bendas.[6] The Danes were not left out of these demands. They had to give a great many goods to the Asante army commanded by Owusu Afriye.[7]

Opoku Ware, the Asantehene, was forced to return home as a result of the sack of Kumase by Abirimoro of Sehwi while they were in Akyem land and the eastern coast. He commissioned Osei Ahwere, the chief of Dwaben, to organise and establish Asante rule over the newly conquered territories of Akyem Abuakwa and Kotoku.[8] It was perhaps on this occasion that an Asante resident was left in Akuapem,[9] and may have remained here with varied fortunes until the final overthrow of Asante suzerainty over Akuapem in 1826.

Though the main body of the Asante troops may have left by the middle of 1743, those left to assist Osei Ahwere in working out the scheme of incorporating the conquered Akyem states into the Asante Empire are known to have caused much trouble to the Akyem people.

Perhaps one significant effect of this war on Akuapem was the dispersal of the Akyem from their country: a large number of them following the 'migrants' of the early 1730s came into the Akuapem hills, thus swelling the population of Akyem immigrants in Akuapem. This is evident from the reports of the Danish

1 Reindorf, pp. 80 and 82

2 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea, letter from Forgensen to Company, 19 March 1742

3 *Ibid.* It is plausible to suggest that the death of Fianko Betuafo, the second occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool, may have occurred at this time. This suggestion is based on the assumption that if the Asante got all the principal chiefs of the Akyem states killed or forced to commit suicide, the Okuapemhene, a principal ally of the chief of Akyem Abuakwa, would not be spared.

4 *Ibid.*

5 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Kuiji to Elmina, 17 April 1742

6 V.G.K., Brege og dokumenter fra Guinea, letter from Chr. Dorph to Company, July 1743. 110 Bendas were equivalent to £880.

7 Roemer, p. 30

8 Reindorf, p. 81

9 Wilks, 'The Growth of the Akwapim State', p. 403. It is not known from what source Wilks got this information that a resident was appointed in 1742. However, the Asante were known to have established such posts in their conquered territories; and Isert categorically mentioned in 1786 that he saw an Asante 'toll gatherer' stationed at Mamfe in Akuapem which was 'at the junction of the routes of Asante and Akim'. Biørn (*Beretning*, p. 204) also reported that, 'Here (Aquapim) the King of Asanthee kept a big lieutenant (or ambassador) to protect and control his subjects.' Throughout the eighteenth century, Asante rule over Akuapem witnessed a number of ups and downs; the Akuapem either alone or in concert with Akyem Abuakwa tried with varied fortunes to overthrow the Asante suzerainty until 1826 when in alliance with the coastal states, the English and the Danes defeated the Asante at Akantamansu.

trading company officials between 1746 and 1747. In 1746, it was reported that many Akyem people had fled to the hills for fear of Asante power.[1] A year after, another report states that 'since the 1744 war, the Akim dispossessed of their country (had been) running around'.[2] It was not until the death of Opoku Ware and the enstoolment of the 'peaceful old chief', Kusi, that some peace was found in Akyem country.[3] By 1751 it was 'rumoured that the Akyem are now settled in their own country',[4] but it is possible that some of them made permanent homes in the hills.

The death of Owusu in the war may have relieved the new dynasty of one restraining hand in the setting up of an organised political unitary state in the hills. However, as later events were to show, the Akuapem rulers remained in a more or less permanent alliance with Akyem Abuakwa in their struggles with Asante until the establishment of British rule in 1850.

Outside Akuapem the effects of the war were greater. The two Akyem states – Kotoku and Abuakwa – lost their rulers, who had been responsible for the destruction of Akwamu power, thus making them the most powerful states in the south-eastern Gold Coast. Abuakwa was now faced with the wide dispersal and unsettled life of its people. Pobbi, who succeeded Bakwante as Abuakwa ruler (*c.* 1742–65),[5] needed courage and determination to re-settle and reorganise his people once more.[6] The European trading centres at the coast also suffered the Asante plunder and looting which followed the defeat of the Akyem states and Akuapem.

On the other hand, the victory of the Asante seems to have effected little change in the political and economic situation since 1730. The promise of Opoku Ware to restore the Akwamu remnants in the old Akwamu state to their former status was not fulfilled. Perhaps it only saved the new Akwamu state from further disturbance by Akyem Abuakwa and Akyem Kotoku. More important is the fact that the Asante did not realise their main objective of opening a direct and undisturbed trade path through Akyem Abuakwa and Akuapem to the European trading forts at Accra. They had captured the 'Notes' on the Accra forts from the Akyem[7] and in theory had become the receiver of the rents thereof. Yet in 1746 Danish sources reported that the Akyem were 'still receiving the ground rent from the Europeans despite their defeat in 1742'.[8] Though the Danes did pay something to the

1 V.G.K., Sekretprotokoller fra Christiansborg, entry 21 July 1746

2 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea Council, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 6 August 1747

3 V.G.K. Sekretpotokoller fra Christiansborg entry 4 May 1750

4 *Ibid.*, entry 16 January 1751

5 Fianko, p. 108; W.I.C., Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Hydercoper, Director General, Elmina to Axim. dd. 17 February 1765. He reported that the Akyem 'head chief Pobie had been captured by the Asante', in a war between the two states in 1765.

6 This task began perhaps after 1750, for, as already mentioned above, the Akyem were reported to have settled in their country again in 1751.

7 Uldall Saml., Fol. 130, 1782, Aarestrup memo on Dutch-Danish dispute

8 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea, Council to Copenhagen, 29 August 1746

Asante in 1748, they regarded this payment as 'presents to the Asante in order to attract trade from them'.[1]

Opoku Ware, the Asantehene, seems to have realised the failure right from the end of the war, and he and, to some extent, his successor Kusi Obodum tried to use diplomacy instead of force to secure the ground rents from, and free passage to, the European forts at Accra. Opoku sent messengers to Pobbi informing him that he would release the two Akyem Abuakwa heirs – Bronni and Ascharry (?) – and would 'not require any tax from them (the Abuakwa) but the rent from the European forts, and free passage for his men and traders through the Akim countries to Accra, as that was closer to him than Elmina'.[2] Opoku died without obtaining the success of this policy and his successor Kusi Obodum, after he had secured himself on the Golden Stool,[3] opened negotiations with Pobbi in an attempt to open the trade paths to the Accra forts. This attempt also failed, for the Danes still complained that trade was at a standstill as a result of Akyem and Akuapem ('mountain negroes') raids on the Asante traders.[4]

Those Akuapem and Akyem Abuakwa raids on Asante traders which began at the end of the war (1742–43), became a regular feature throughout the eighteenth century. A sort of guerilla warfare, it disturbed trade and at times denied the Asante a direct path to the European forts at Accra. Officially it was an attempt to throw off the Asante suzerainty. Though begun towards the end of the reign of Opoku Ware, the raids on the Asante traders assumed serious proportions after the death of this great Asante ruler. These raids were organised by Akuapem and Abuakwa either alone or in alliance with other southern states.

In correspondence with the author, Ivor Wilks expresses anxiety at the concept of the Akuapem and Abuakwa attempting to deny Asante access to Accra. He argues that, if it was a *policy*, it would invite reprisals, and one knows that the Asante were prepared to despatch countless punitive expeditions to areas where traders were being molested; that the European trading officials were concerned to keep the roads open; that the Asante trade was not simply a through trade – it brought some benefit to local markets; and that the Asante had another and quite different route to Accra, the one via the Volta gorge and Akwamu, which they were perfectly well able to operate when the shorter route via Akyem Abuakwa was closed.

The line of argument of Professor Wilks sounds good enough; but political consideration generally overshadows what is logically expedient. One cannot find sufficient evidence to support the view that the guerilla attacks were officially

1 V.G.K., Sekretprotokoller fra Christiansborg entry 26 July 1748. In 1782, however, Aarestrup wrote that the Danish trading company had recognised the Asante as the inheritors of the Akyem rights. This may seem an ex-post facto but not an immediate recognition of this right. Aarestrup referring to the Danish governor, Waeroe's letter dd. 17 September 1730, of the war of 1729–30, wrote: 'That the Akenisterne on the day reduced the Akwamu, whereby they became overseers and masters of the Coast negroes . . . and the king of Akanie became the receiver of the monthly salary of the 3 forts at Accra as the King of Akwamu had been. Thereafter the Akanisterne were reduced by the Assiantherne and the King of Assiantheе was thereby the overseer and lawful master, and had as such from the year 1742 become the receiver of the salary on the 3 forts at Accra.'

2 Roemer, p. 31

3 Priestley and Wilks, 'The Ashanti Kings in the Eighteenth Century', p. 93. Kusi Obodum is known to have had a rival claimant to the Asante stool, called Dako, who had been nominated by Opoku Ware to succeed him. Kusi was, after Opoku's death, chosen by the stool-makers. The first few years of his reign were spent in getting rid of this rival claimant.

4 V.G.K., Sekretprotokoller fra Christiansborg, entry 5 March 1755

sanctioned in the eighteenth century. However, the expeditions of Kwao Saforo Twe in the early nineteenth century against the Accra and the Krobo, which are fully documented (see pp. 84–6 below) seem to indicate that the Akuapem government were supporting the raids. At least, there is one record in the eighteenth century, when the Danes reported that 'Attiambo of Aquapim' in alliance with the deposed paramount chief of Akyem Abuakwa, Obirikoran, who was at large, were 'robbing Asante traders on the road' (see p. 81 below).

The Akuapem and Akyem Abuakwa rulers were quite aware of the consequences of their actions against the Asante traders, but the dislike of Asante rule must have weighed more against benefits they would expect from Asante imperial control. The fact remains that the Asante had an alternative route along the Volta and through Akwamu, but they preferred the shorter Kumasi-Akyem Abuakwa-Akuapem-Accra route. As Roemer points out, they were not even always safe on this long route; they sometimes suffered from Akwamu chicanery. It is also true that there were pro-Asante factions in Akuapem particularly during the reign of Addo Dankwa, as Wilks points out, but their influence must have been negligible. Even Addo Dankwa was coerced in 1824 to join the British alliance against the Asante (see pp. 92–3 below).

In 1747 the first such alliance was formed after the 1742–43 war. In that year, the Danes reported that the nations south of Asante had formed an alliance comprising Fante, Akyem, Wassa, Denkyira, and Hill negroes against Asante. However, no war took place, for the allies did not 'dare to attack, and only closed the paths'.[1] In 1750 there was a more serious threat to Asante traders. 'Some Hill negroes and Akyem men captured a number of Asante traders on their way to the coast, and the paths over the hills to the coast were closed.'[2] It appears the paths through Akyem and Akuapem were not opened to Asante until 1757. For in 1755 'Pobbi of Akyem and Kusi of Asante were still negotiating for a peace settlement, and Akyem messengers, sent to Kumasi to pay an amount of gold demanded by Asante, were arrested and kept in custody because the amount was not sufficient.'[3] The Asante prepared for an invasion of Akyem land. The invasion seems to have been put off; for in 1757 Akyem Abuakwa 'paid large sums of money to Asante and peace was restored'. Both the Asante and Akyem Abuakwa traders came down to trade on the coast, and both sides received presents from the Danes.[4]

The Asante traders did not enjoy this peace for long. In August 1761 twenty-three of them were 'panyarred'[5] by some Akuapem men; thirteen of these were sold at the Dutch fort in Accra.[6] According to this Dutch report, a number of Asante traders had gone to Akuapem to buy their provisions when they were

1 V.G.K., Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea, Council, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 18 January 1747

2 *Ibid.*, 10 August 1750

3 W.I.C., Diaries and Correspondence, letter from P. Wortman at Apam, 15 May 1755

4 V.G.K., Diverse arkivalier fra Guinea, Council, Christiansborg to Directors, 15 August 1757 and 22 October 1759

5 'Panyarring' is a word used by the European traders on the coast, meaning forcible seizure of persons for payment of debt. Such persons were kept as slaves until the debt was paid or were sold into slavery.

6 W.I.C. Diaries and Correspondence, report from Pracheysen to Rhyderbury, 23 August 1761

attacked; those who could escape ran down to the Dutch fort in Accra. The Dutch authorities at Elmina advised those in Accra to send them to Akwamu 'where they would be safe until they could be conducted to Asante'.[1]

In the 1770s there was another phase of Akuapem-Akyem Abuakwa cooperation in their attempt to deny the Asante access to the European forts at Accra. This occurred when Obirikoran, the chief of Akyem Abuakwa, was deposed by the Asantehene, Osei Kojo (1764–1777). Obirikoran had been installed Okyenhene in 1766 by the Asantehene[2] after the death of Pobbi, who was killed in an Asante-Akyem Abuakwa war of 1765,[3] known as the Benna war in Akyem Abuakwa tradition. He was thus a contemporary of this same Osei Kojo, 'the young and vigorous Asantehene, who was always involved in wars, and successor Kusi Obodum'.[4] Thus Osei Kojo was bound to clash with Obirikoran who, from the beginning of his reign, showed signs of insubordination towards Asante domination. He and the Akwamuhene had been called to Kumasi,[5] perhaps to swear an oath of loyalty to their overlords, the Asantehene. But the loyalty of Obirikoran does not seem to have lasted long. Hence between 1768 and 1775, when Obirikoran was replaced on the Akyem Abuakwa stool by Ampofo, the records of the Dutch and Danish companies report several battles between Akyem Abuakwa (sometimes in alliance with Akuapem) and Asante. In 1768, the Danes reported that Asante had beaten the Akyem, some of whom had fled to Akuapem country.[6] Dutch sources also reported that Osei Kojo, in December 1771, sent an ultimatum 'to Aquapim and Obirikoran (of Akyem Abuakwa) to send envoys to the Dutch in Accra to promise to keep the roads open'.[7] In January 1773, Obirikoran was 'pushed out of Akyem and took refuge in Fante'[8]; then in May 1775, a new chief, Ampofo, was installed in Akyem Abuakwa in place of Obirikoran.[9]

In exile Obirikoran's attacks on Asante traders to the coast continued. The Danish source which reported that a new chief had been installed in Akyem Abuakwa continued that 'the old king Obicoran is still at large robbing Asante traders on the road in alliance with Attiambo of Aquapim'.[10] At this time also the Akuapem and Akyem in alliance with other states made another attempt to overthrow the Asante suzerainty. On this occasion the alliance, consisting of Fante, Akyem, Wassa, Krobo and Akuapem, was formed to meet an Asante army invading the south.[11] It seems that the allies were unable to make a concerted effort to meet the Asante and allowed themselves to be dealt with one by one. The

1 *Ibid.*, 19 August 1761

2 V.G.K., Guineiske Journaler, Quist to Council, 30 October 1766

3 W.I.C., Diaries and Correspondence, letter from Hydercoper, Director General, Elmina to Axim, 17 June 1765

4 V.G.K., Kystdokumenter Council at Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 4 December 1767

5 *Ibid.*

6 V.G.K., Kystdokumenter, Council at Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 1 November 1768

7 W.I.C., Diaries and Correspondence, letter from P. Wortman, 11 December 1771

8 V.G.K., Kystdokumenter Council, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 12 January 1773

9 *Ibid.*, 28 May 1775 10 *Ibid.*

11 V.G.K., Sekretprotokoller, Kjoge to Council, 21 December 1772

Asante had little difficulty with the Akyem who were driven towards Fante.[1] But the Asante army which turned towards Krobo and Akuapem had to withdraw and return to Asante.[2] The Asante campaign against the Krobo and Akuapem does not seem to have been a success. The Asantehene, in 1776, sent a 'great lieutenant' to Akuapem, and Atiemo was conducted to Accra to swear before the Danes at Christiansborg that he would, from that time onwards, keep the roads open and recognise the Asantehene as his overlord and friend.[3]

It appears the Asante envoy remained in Akuapem for some time. For towards the end of the year, the Danish trading agents reported again the activities of three Asante envoys between Accra and Akuapem. Aarestrup reported in 1776:

> On December 24, a messenger came from the Hill Cabusseer Atjambo to our Negro allies in Accra that an Assianthe envoy (lieutenant) Cassa, who had been with the Danes for negotiation, received a message from a big Assianthe cabusseer called Odinkim that they should inform the Danes that Odinkim had sent another Assianthe envoy Boaque, who was an Assianthe envoy to the Dutch company, with greetings to Cabasseer Atjambo from van der Peuye[4] and a message that Atjambo should break his alliance with the Danish negroes and come into alliance with the Dutch negroes, and he, van der Peuye, would present him with 60 ounces[5] (each ounce calculated as 16 rd.). . . . Likewise would van der Peuye give the Assianthe Cabusseer Odinkim 20 ounces because he would be helpful in persuading Atjambo to break with the Danish negroes . . .
>
> The Danish trading agent sent a message of thanks to their friend [Atiembo] for this information and at the same time asked Atjambo to be ready with his forces to aid the Danes when he received a message to come.[6]

It is likely that Odinkim was the Asante envoy who had conducted Atiemo to the Danish fort in June of 1776 to swear the oath of allegiance to the Asantehene and promise to maintain peace and open the roads. He may have gone back to Akuapem and remained there as an Asante resident. For there is a narrative in published traditions[7] of Akuapem that:

> When the Akuapem were in the hills they had no quarrel with the Asante. It was the Akyem who dragged them into war with the Asante. One day Osei[8] sent one of his generals, called Adu Sei, to fight the Akyem. The latter fled to Fante country, thence to the hills; and we (the Akuapem) met the Asante army at Ahabante. We fought with the Asante and they drove us to the Krobo hills. The Asante invited the Akwamuhene Darko to help them. We were kept starving in the hills.

1 V.G.K., Kystdokumenter Council, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 12 January 1773

2 *Ibid.*, Aarestrup to Copenhagen, 7 March 1773

3 V.G.K., Palaverboger, entry 8 June 1776

4 Van der Peuye was the Dutch factor at Accra.

5 It is not indicated in the source whether the payment was made in gold.

6 V.G.K., Aarestrup to Company, 27 December 1776 and Ny. Kgl. Saml.

7 Translated from the *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 39, by the author.

8 Osei was an Asantehene, probably Osei Kojo.

> However, Osei sent a messenger called Oko to Adu Sei saying that he (Adu Sei) was not sent to fight the Akuapem and Krobo, and he should withdraw his forces from Krobo and Akuapem country. After Adu Sei had gone, Osei sent Odenkyem to raise the Asante flag in Akuapem, so that no one would trouble us again. Odenkyem spent about a year in Akuapem before he returned to Kumasi. . . . This is how we came to serve Asante.[1]

No doubt Odinkim in the Danish report was Odenkyem in the Akuapem traditions; and he may be regarded as one of the Asante residents in Akuapem in the eighteenth century.

The Danish report stresses another point; that it was not all the time that Asante used force to achieve their objectives of opening the roads to the coast and maintenance of law and order in their empire. Here one can see the Asante using the instrument of diplomacy and employing the officials of the European trading companies, both the Dutch and the Danes, to achieve their objective. It did not matter to them which of the two European nations got the upper hand in their struggle to win the Akuapem to their side.[2]

It seems that after this and until 1811 there was little or no friction between Akuapem and Akyem Abuakwa on the one side and Asante on the other, for the contemporary records do not mention any such conflicts. The Asante envoys may have succeeded in maintaining peace. Three other reasons can be given for the apparent quiet. In the first place the Asantehene Osei Kojo, whose reign was marked by vigorous campaigns to consolidate the empire built by Opoku Ware, died in 1777, and he was succeeded by a less vigorous ruler, Osei Kwame.[3] Secondly, the exiled Obirikoran was re-enstooled as Okyenhene, as he had 'settled his dispute with the Ashantee after paying money to big men in Ashantee'.[4] Moreover the troublesome Obirikoran did not remain on the stool for long: he died in 1783.[5] Thirdly, it seems as if Asante was experiencing a period of internal crisis, and could not organise any expedition southwards however provocative the situation would be. In 1800 there were rumours of war in Asante. Mampon was entertaining some designs of attack on Kumasi.[6] It is perhaps not altogether a coincidence that these years also saw a considerable decline of European trading activities through the American and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and this may have affected events on the Gold Coast.

On the whole, the eighteenth century Akuapem-Akyem resistance to Asante power appears to have been generally unsuccessful. The resistance movement

1 This narrative from Akuapem traditions (see Appendix I) may be consistent with the unsuccessful Asante attack on Akuapem and Krobo cited above in this chapter.

2 The Dutch-Danish dispute over Ada, which affected Akuapem, is discussed below in Chapter 4.

3 Priestley and Wilks, p. 96. This episode of an Asante envoy in Akuapem at the close of 1776 must also be viewed against the background of the 1777–78 revolt against Atiemo, discussed in Chapter 2 above. As already noted, the Dutch used the dethroned Akyem Abuakwa king Obirikoran in their attempt to get support from the Akuapem and on this occasion too is seen their attempt to get this support through an Asante envoy.

4 V.G.K., letter from J. Kjoge, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 15 March 1783

5 Unpublished manuscript on History of the Akyem by A. Afrifa, School of Oriental and African Studies referring to T70/980, Accra Daybook, Entry 5 January 1784. The author is very grateful to Mr. Afrifa for showing him the manuscript.

6 K. A. Busia, p. 87

was mainly one of a series of raids and attacks on Asante traders to the coast; and attempts at overthrowing Asante suzerainty had been rather feeble and were usually in alliance with other states. The second decade of the nineteenth century, however, witnessed a definite move by the Akuapem and Akyem to throw off the Asante yoke. The signal for revolt seems to have been given by the Okuapemhene, Kwao Saforo Twe (*c.* 1802–16), who one day sounded one of his state horns in these words: '*Asante Kotoko! moye ohaw, moye ohaw papa!*'[1] (meaning 'Asante the Porcupine! you are troublesome, you are too troublesome!'). On a visit to Kumasi in company of the chiefs of Akyem Abuakwa and Akwamu to pay the annual homage, he is believed to have interpreted the sound of his horn to say: '*Asante Kotoko! munim agoru, munim agoru papa*'[2] (meaning 'you are very social'). On his return from Kumasi he is said to have persuaded his neighbours, the Akyem Abuakwa and Akwamu, to rebel against the Asante.[3] The occasion for this rebellion came in 1811.

Kwao Saforo Twe had succeeded Ohene Kuma as the Okuapemhene probably towards the end of 1802.[4] Ohene Kuma who had succeeded Awuku Fenenee in 1802,[5] had a very short reign lasting about three months.[6] There is a pathetic story of his death in Akuapem tradition.[7] He was believed to have been poisoned. Kwao Saforo Twe was the son of Princess Akufobea (a niece of Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo) and of a chief of Labadi by name Odoi Akyem.[8] Perhaps it is from this Ga connection that he got his first name Kwao which confused W. E. F. Ward into saying that it 'may possibly be a mis-hearing of Koa' though he had earlier thought rightly that the name Kwao 'betrays some Ga connection'.[9]

It was this man who succeeded Ohene Kuma towards the end of 1802. He was thus a contemporary of Osei Bonsu, who ascended the Golden Stool almost the same time, 1801;[10] Kwao Saforo Twe's relations with Asante during the short period 1811 and 1816, led Reindorf to describe him as a 'roaming fugitive and chief disturber of peace',[11] and Ward found him 'as elusive as De Wet'.[12] At home he was known to be as harsh as Obuobi Atiemo, and a terror to the neighbouring Ga and Krobo people.[13] Indeed Kwao Saforo Twe must have been one of 'the kings of Akuapem, who', according to C. C. Reindorf, 'tried in vain for several years by inroads and kidnappings to subdue the Akras, and were more successful

1 Samson, *A Short History of Akuapem and Akropong* 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.*

4 S. Fianko, 1951, p. 95; Djan, *The 'Sunlight': A Reference Almanac*, p. 102

5 Guineiske Journaler, Interim Governor Anholm, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 17 September 1802. This Danish report says 'The great caboceer Eshufrene died two months ago and has been succeeded by Chenniecuma'. See also Fianko, p. 95; Samson, p. 6; Djan, p. 102

6 Samson, p. 6

7 *Ibid.* In Akuropon tradition recorded by A. Djan, Bursar, Mensa Sarbah Hall, Legon, the event was interpreted as due to the wrong procedure adopted in the choice of a successor to Awuku Fenenee. The next heir after Awuku in 1802 was Kwao Saforo Twe, but he was by-passed and his younger cousin Ohene Kuma was enstooled because Kwao was lame and thus declared unfit. Thus after Ohene Kuma's sudden death, Kwao was enstooled to 'pacify the gods'.

8 Djan, p. 143. See also Appendix II. 9 Ward, *A History of Ghana*, p. 157

10 Priestley and Wilks (pp. 95–6) put the dethronement of Osei Kwame, the predecessor of Osei Bonsu, in or about 1801.

11 Reindorf, p. 160 12 Ward, p. 158 13 *Native Reports in Tshi*, pp. 6–7

with the Krobos and Shais'.[1] He is remembered in Akuapem tradition[2] as an Okuapemhene who made constant and daring raids on the people of Accra, and subjected those he could lay hands on to horrible inhuman treatment. H. C. Monrad, a Danish chaplain at Osu between 1805 and 1809, has a short account of a threatening message to the people of Accra:

> Qvaii . . . the prince of Aquapim, I remember, sent once, when he was dissatisfied with the Accaraerne, the following threatening message to them: 'I shall come, bathe my sword in your blood and wash it clean in the sea, which washes upon your land [shore].'[3]

Contemporary English and Danish sources refer to a number of attacks made by the Akuapem caboceer Quow on Dutch Accra. It seems probable that the strained relations between the two countries started towards the end of the reign of Awuku Fenenee in 1801; for there is an entry in the Accra Day Book concerning 'troubles between the Accras and people of the Hill country'.[4] The death of Awuku Fenenee in mid 1802 and the short reign of Ohene Kuma may have led to a temporary pause. Between 1804 and 1807 the situation must have been serious and disturbing to trade, for there were attempts by envoys from the chiefs of Akyem and Asante to settle the quarrel. By August 1804 Swanzy, who had only a few months ago 'taken over command of the [English] Accra forts'[5] wrote:

> The caboceers, Pynins and Towns people came into the fort to acquaint me, the Aquapims or the Hill country people had begun to destroy their plantation and even threatened their town, that they intended to send them a message if they did not desist that they would turn every man able to carry arms against them, and it would meet my approbation and that I would assist them all in my power which I assured them.[6]

The warning from the people of Accra must have gone, but Kwao Saforo Twe and his Akuapem men did not put off their attack, and between the end of August and November serious clashes took place[7] which led the 'caboceer of Akim' to send messengers to request Swanzy to do all he could to settle the 'serious war between the Accras and Aquapims in which several heads have been taken off'.[8] A Danish source gives the figure as 'twenty-three heads of distinguished Accras'.[9] Asante envoys also followed those of Akyem to James Town 'to enquire into the war between the Accras and Aquapims and to request the assistance of all forts' to obtain a settlement.[10] Major Wrisberg, the Danish governor at Christiansborg, tried to use all possible means to get the matter settled, though it seemed

1 Reindorf, p. 307 2 *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 7 3 Monrad, p. 94

4 T70/983, Accra Day Book, entries 30 November and 16 December 1801

5 *Ibid.*, 15 April 1804 6 *Ibid.*, entry August 1804

7 Guineiske Journaler, Major Wrisberg, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 30 August and 12 November 1804

8 T70/983, Accra Day Book, entry 9 October 1804; also Reindorf, pp. 135–7. He wrongly dates this event 1802.

9 Guineiske Journaler, Major Wrisberg, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 12 November 1804

10 T70/983, Accra Day Book, entry 15 October 1804

that Kwao was very much inclined to peace but if the governor persisted it would cost the royal chest about two to three hundred rigsdallers'.[1]

No peace was made between the Akuapem and the people of Dutch Accra, and in April 1806 the situation seems to have worsened for it was reported that about '5000 Fante negroes were expected to ally with Accra negroes to attack Aquapim and it will [have to] follow that, the Danish negro will probably be compelled to take sides, but the Council will endeavour to maintain a strong neutrality'.[2] There is no evidence to show whether the Fante did come to the aid of the Dutch Accra or not, and hostilities continued until the beginning of 1807. In October of the previous year, Asante envoys had come again to Accra 'to endeavour to adjust the Aquapim war',[3] which was certainly disturbing trade and the Danish project for plantations inland.[4]

Though the Danes were able to persuade Kwao to stop his attacks on Accra, and Major Wrisberg gave him an 'advance of 456 rigdallers' in order to keep the peace and for which he gave up his sister's son as security,[5] the peace was soon broken and the Akuapem state bungled and stumbled into a major war. In July 1807 news circulated that 'the King of Assianthe had completely destroyed the Fanthe negroes, a mighty nation and their impressive towns burnt down'.[6]

In 1807, the Asantehene, Osei Bonsu, pursuing two fugitive Assin chiefs, Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae, who had since 1805 shown signs of rebellion, invaded Fanteland where the rebel chiefs have taken refuge; and the Fante also refused to give them up when the Asantehene made a formal request.[7] The invasion of Fanteland by an Asante army is a significant event in the history of the Gold Coast. Not only did it involve a number of southern states, but also it marked the first encounter by an Asante army with British arms, and Schiønning's report on this is worth quoting:

> The King [the Asantehene] himself had led his army against Annamabo town, and in spite of the cannons of the fort and loss of 1500 men, he took the town.[8]

The Asantehene must have called upon his subordinate states to send men to aid his forces which invaded Fanteland; Akuapem and its traditional ally Akyem Abuakwa must have obeyed the call of its overlord. There is evidence to show that the Akuapem and the Abuakwa supported the Asantehene until 1810. An entry in the Accra Day Book says that presents were given to 'the caboceer of

1 Guineiske Journaler, Wrisberg, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 30 August and 12 November 1804

2 Guineiske Journaler, Council, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 17 April 1806

3 T70/983, Accra Day Book, entry 12 October 1806

4 Guineiske Journaler, Peder Meyer, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 14 September 1805

5 Guineiske Journaler, Council, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 14 April 1807

6 Guineiske Journaler, Interim Governor Schiønning, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 6 July 1807

7 For details of the causes of the revolt of Otibu and Aputae and the Asante and Fante war up to 1809, see: Ward, pp. 147–56; F. C. Fuller, *A Vanished Dynasty*, pp. 38–46; Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*, pp. 129–63.

8 Guineiske Journaler, Interim Governor Schiønning to Copenhagen, 6 July 1807

Akim and a large retinue of Ashantee and people from the Hill country, sent down by order of the King of Ashantee to assist this place against the Fantees'.[1]

Their loyalty did not last long. A year after, however, we see the two states, Akuapem and Akyem Abuakwa, declaring against their overlord, Asante. In 1811, the Akyem revolted because Ata Wusu the Okyenhene felt that he had not received the treatment befitting an ally.[2] Ata Wusu Yiakosan now called upon his kinsman, Kwao Saforo Twe of Akuapem, and they intercepted the Asante armies under Apia Dankwa and Opoku Ferefere. These Asante captains and their armies had been ordered by Osei Bonsu to the coast to aid the people of Elmina and Accra respectively in their quarrel with the Fante.[3] For the Fante had sent armies against Accra and Elmina in 1809, after the Asante had gone back to their country, and both countries had managed to send messengers to Asante for help.[4]

The allies first intercepted Opoku Ferefere's army and put up a stubborn resistance and caused such losses that Opoku had to send an appeal for reinforcements to the Accra people, who had been expecting help from him.[5] The coming of the Accra led to the break up of the Abuakwa and the Akuapem forces which retreated to the hills. Opoku followed them and formed his camp at Mampon where another fierce battle was fought.[6] But the Abuakwa and Akuapem resistance was again broken and their forces divided up. Kwao Saforo Twe followed by his Akuapem force withdrew from their mountains to seek refuge in the fastnesses of the Krobo mountains. From here he made his way to Ada followed closely by the Asante army.[7] But Kwao once again eluded his pursuers and the poor Danish governor of the Ada fort, Flindt, was taken and brought by the Asante men on their return to Berekuso in the Akuapem hills where he was held a prisoner, though well treated, for five months (April to September) before he was released. Flindt was accused of providing refuge to Kwao.[8] This is not the only thing the Danes suffered in this war; their flourishing plantation at Frederiksborg, at the foot of the Akuapem hills, was deliberately destroyed by the Asante because Opoku Ferefere alleged that the Danish governor at Christiansborg, Schiønning, had a hand in the escape of the Abuakwa and Akuapem leaders.[9]

Following a futile chase after Kwao Saforo Twe through Krobo country, Osei Bonsu recalled Opoku Ferefere and his men to Kumasi. Though the Asante failed to achieve their objective in the 1811 campaign – that is to bring to Kumasi the heads of Kwao Saforo Twe and Ata Wusu – the devastation caused by the Asante

1 T70/983, Accra Day Book, entry 13 March 1810. See also Meredith, pp. 167–8.

2 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 17; T. E. Bowditch, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (New Edition) London 1873, p. 192

3 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana;* Guineiske Journaler, report from Schiønning to Copenhagen, 18 January 1812; Claridge *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp. 263–4; Fuller, pp. 46–9

4 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 17; Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Copenhagen, 18 January 1812

5 Ward, p. 157

6 Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Copenhagen, 18 January 1812 and Flindt's Report on the war, 20 March 1813

7 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 20 March 1813

8 *Ibid.*; Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Copenhagen, 18 January 1812; Meredith, p. 232; Claridge, p. 264; Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 18

9 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 20 March 1813; Fuller, p. 47

armies to the Akuapem country was horrible: many were enslaved, others died of starvation, and as a punitive measure it had its effects.[1] Yet to Kwao and Ata, the 1811 campaign meant a measure of success in their resistance movement against Asante power. Opoku Ferefere and his men had been unable to capture them, when Osei Bonsu recalled him and his men to Asante.

Apia Dankwa was rather worse off. His small force was checked by a Fante army in a battle at Apam and though it was a victory for him he incurred great losses.[2] More serious was a combined attack led by the Okyenhene Ata Wusu Yiakosan and Kwao Saforo Twe – the latter had been able to elude Opoku and joined Ata in Fante land.[3] Apia Dankwa decided on a retreat rather than to give battle, his position having been so weakened at Apam; he lost heavily in a rear-guard action with the pursuing Abuakwa and Akuapem forces.[4] Ata Wusu died from small-pox at Kwanyako while he was returning to Akyem Abuakwa after his victory.[5] When the Asante armies returned to Kumasi, Kwao Saforo persuaded Adoko, one of the Fante chiefs and Asare Bediako who had succeeded Ata Wusu on the Akyem Abuakwa stool, to join him in an attack on the people of Accra.[6] They did, and the villages of Accra from James Town to Ningo were besieged for three weeks. The Accra, however, succeeded in driving the enemy away.[7]

Meanwhile, the news of the Akuapem Abuakwa-Fante invasion of Accra had reached Kumasi, and Osei Bonsu, smarting under the failure of the double campaign of 1811, sent another expedition in 1814 to crush the Akuapem and Akyem. He had other aims in this campaign of 1814. He was determined to open the paths to Accra, and to collect the rent on the Danish forts which had not been paid since 1811.[8]

Two armies were put into the field. Apia Dankwa was again put in command of a small force with orders to block the Akyem line of retreat south-westward. The main army was commanded by Amankwa Abinowa. He was instructed to make a direct attack on the Akyem, this time including the Kotoku under Kwadwo Kuma, and the Akuapem under the recalcitrant Kwao Saforo Twe.[9] In a battle

1 Meredith, pp. 231–2; *Native Reports in Tshi*, pp. 11–12

2 Ward, p. 158; Fuller, p. 47

3 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 20 March 1813; Reindorf, p. 155; Fuller, p. 47

4 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 20 March 1813; Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, pp. 17–18; Fuller, p. 47

5 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 20 March 1813 and Schiønning to Copenhagen, 10 May 1813; Fuller, p. 47; Claridge, pp. 265–6. This disaster was the origin of the great Akyem Abuakwa oath 'Kwanyako'.

6 Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Copenhagen, 15 March 1813. It was not Kwadwo Kuma who succeeded to the Akyem Abuakwa stool according to Ward (p. 159). The Akyem Abuakwa chiefs' list had no such name (see Fianko, p. 110). Kwadwo Kuma was rather a claimant to the Akyem Kotoku stool. (See Reindorf, p. 157.)

7 Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Copenhagen, 18 January 1812; Flindt's Report, 20 March 1813; Bowdich, p. 194; Claridge, p. 273

8 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816; Reindorf, p. 157; Claridge, pp. 273–4

9 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816; Claridge, p. 274; Fuller, p. 48; Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, pp. 36–7

which lasted for about six hours, the Akyem and Akuapem forces were beaten at Adweso, and Kwadwo Kuma and Kwao fled to Fante country for protection. Amankwa encamped at Onyase eight miles north-east of Accra, and lay there for a year waiting for the Akuapem and Akyem to come in and sue for peace. Instead a party of the Akuapem force which had escaped to Obutu, west of Accra, organised from there what may be described as 'commando raids' on both the Asante and the Accra.[1] It was not only these which disturbed the Accra, but also the presence of the Asante army at the outskirts of Accra. Some of the Asante also pillaged the Accra as if they were enemies. The result of this was that the Accra became thoroughly disgusted with their allies, the Asante,[2] and this perhaps paved the way for the great alliance, eleven years later, comprising the Accra and their former enemies, the Fante, the Akuapem and the Akyem, and the English and the Danes, which defeated the Asante in 1826.

When the Akuapem and the Akyem failed to submit, Amankwa decided to attack them again. Early in 1816 he moved to the Akuapem mountains. While there he received the news of the death of Apia Dankwa, and he was ordered to take over Apia Dankwa's force at Asikuma and to unite it with his own.[3] He then marched through Abora, Anomabu, Elmina and Cape Coast in pursuit of Kwadwo Kuma of Kotoku, Kofi Asante of Akyem Abuakwa (who had succeeded Asare Bediako) and Kwao Saforo Twe.[4] He could not find them there, and he moved towards Accra and thence to Akuapem. On the way, Kwadwo Kuma fell into the hands of a small Asante party and he was beheaded[5]; Kwao Saforo Twe who had succeeded in reaching his capital and was in hiding at his Amamprobi village was betrayed into the hands of the Asante by his heir and successor Addo Dankwa.[6] Anim Ampana, chief of Adukrom, shared the fate of Kwao Saforo Twe – they were beheaded.[7]

The 1814–16 campaign was a complete success for the Asante, and they reduced the coastal states to complete submission. They also achieved the main object of the war; the heads of Kwao Saforo Twe, Kwadwo Kuma and Kofi Asante were sent to Kumasi. All the Akuapem chiefs as well as the principal chiefs of two Akyem states and Fante arrived in Accra and promised their total submission to Asante power and also to leave the Accra alone. Asante residents were left in charge of the conquered states,[8] and it appeared as if the Asante would remain masters indefinitely.

Within ten years (after 1816), however, Asante power over Akuapem and the rest of the southern states was a thing of the past. The main reason for the end of Asante power lay outside the history of Akuapem. In brief it was due to Sir

1 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October, 1816; Fuller, p. 40

2 Ward, p. 159; Claridge, p. 274

3 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816; Reindorf, p. 159; Claridge, p. 275

4 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816

5 Reindorf, p. 160; Claridge, pp. 275–77; Fuller, p. 49

6 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816; Samson, p. 8; Fuller, p. 49. See pp. 92–3 below for details of this matter.

7 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816

8 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816

Charles MacCarthy's drift into war with the Asante. Sir Charles had been appointed Governor of Sierra Leone in 1814 and the Gold Coast in 1821. In the years following, he became involved in war with the Asante on the Gold Coast. Once started, the war escalated or gathered momentum; and after his death in the Battle of Nsamankow in 1824 his successors took serious military measures to secure the 'liberation' of the southern states from the Asante yoke. This was achieved in 1826.[1] In 1824 and 1826 the Akuapem were found again in the armies from the other southern states which fought against the Asante. Though the Akuapem had been invited to join the British standard in 1824, and had been promised emancipation from the Asante yoke,[2] it was perhaps the nature of the Asante rule that led them to make another attempt at overthrowing the Asante power.

As in all their conquered provinces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Asante maintained official residents in Akuapem. As has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter these posts may have been created in 1742 in Akuapem. It seems, however, that, in the face of the various revolts outlined above, the Asante residents in Akuapem never enjoyed any security of office in the eighteenth century. They may have returned to Asante or taken refuge in a friendly state during the period when the subject states were in revolt.[3] Perhaps the period when these officials enjoyed real power may have been the early nineteenth century between 1816 and 1824, the zenith of Asante power over the coastal states.[4] Evidence already cited shows that Asante officials were maintained in Akuapem at one time or another in the eighteenth century. The duty of these officials included the collection of tolls from traders passing through the province,[5] levying of troops for the Asante army,[6] prevention or control of the passage of arms and ammunition,[7] and possibly more important, they were to report any attempt at revolt.[8] It was perhaps the arrogance and the irritating demands of the Asante residents that drove the Akuapem to join the British in overthrowing the Asante power. Traditions of Akuapem recount the burdensome and exacting nature of the demands of these officials.[9] They did not scruple

1 Wilks (in a paper read at the Tenth International African Seminar of the International Institute, December 1969, entitled 'Asante Policy Towards the Hausa Trade in the Nineteenth Century') suggests that the Asante did not regard the defeat of 1826 with any seriousness. This was because with the decline of the trans-Atlantic trade their economic interest shifted towards the north trade with Hausaland which culminated in the development of Salaga market. Though they did maintain trade contacts with the coast – for the purchase of guns and gunpowder with the much needed gold dust – their political interest there was virtually nil.

2 Metcalfe, pp. 143–4; Larsen, *Kroniker fra Guinea*, Copenhagen 1927, pp. 137–41

3 *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 13. In this book an instance is given showing that when the news of the coming of the 1824 war reached Akuapem, all the Asante in that country fled.

4 Fuller, p. 55; Ward, p. 160 5 Isert, *Iserts Breve*, p. 153

6 Roemer, p. 42. After 1742, in the reign of Opoku Ware, he asked Akyem and Akwamu to send men for his campaigns in the north against Gonja and Dagomba. Akuapem may have done so as well. There is also another instance, already cited in this chapter during the 1807–1808 Asante campaign in the south against the Fante.

7 M. Johnson, 'Ashanti East of the Volta', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. VIII, 1965

8 Struck, 'Historiches uber Akwapem', p. 9

9 *Ibid.*; Reindorf, p. 171; Fuller, p. 55; *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 12

to take the farm products of the Akuapem farmers whenever they felt inclined to do so; a whole family could be wiped out if the Asante oath was sworn by a member, and local dances and songs could be banned if the words were found to be unpleasant to the ears of an Asante listener. One source of the tradition tells how –

> one day the women of Akuropon began to play the dance known as *nkoruwa*, and when an Asante heard it, he had scarcely got back to Kumasi when he informed Osei there is a dance in Akuropon, the words of which are not suitable to the ears of the listeners. No sooner had the king heard of it, than he chose messengers who were to catch and bring to Kumasi those who danced to this play, so that they could dance it to him. Had God in his goodness not sent Mankata [Sir Charles MacCarthy] from Europe, all the women of Akuropon would have been sent to Kumasi.[1]

Thus it was not only the Asante wars (which were invariably accompanied by great loss of life through slaughter and capture) but also theAsante rule in Akuapem that drove the latter into revolt and to an attempt at overthrowing Asante power. In their revolt the Akuapem usually allied themselves with their neighbours, particularly the Akyem Abuakwa, who also resented Asante rule. Thus in 1824 and 1826 the Akuapem and Akyem Abuakwa were both members of the alliance of coastal states with the English and the Danes (in 1826) which fought the Asante at Nsamamkow and Akantamansu respectively.

There is no clear contemporary documentary evidence to show whether Akuapem played a part in the war of 1824. Metcalfe was not sure whether Akuapem was a member of the alliance of southern states built by MacCarthy and his officials for the war against the Asante. Thus he writes:

> The only official return of the members of this alliance (with an estimate of military strength), is enclosed in Grant to Bathurst. . . . This list, which is of some interest, as the nucleus of the later 'protectorate' does not include Asin (which only joined in 1826) and with the significant exception of Akim does not name the 'Danish' states, Akwamu, Akwapim, Krobo and the Adangbe group.[2]

There is, however, sufficient evidence from Reindorf and recorded oral traditions that the Akuapem took part in the 1824 war. Reindorf has a long narrative on how Akyem Abuakwa and Akuapem were persuaded and even forced by envoys and troops from Accra to declare against the Asante.[3]

1 Struck, p. 9

2 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 145 n. The only reference to Akuapem during this period was from Danish authorities at Christiansborg that 'the Danish negroes (at Accra) had taken part in a campaign with the English government against the Duke of Aquapim, which had been successful'. Guineiske Journaler, Major Richlieu to Copenhagen, 30 January 1824. This may support Reindorf's traditions on the part Akuapem played in the war outlined below.

3 Reindorf, pp. 175–9. See also *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 18. Reindorf's account and source from Akuapem traditions on events in the nineteenth century should in general, but not necessarily on details or for exact chronology, be worthy of belief. For by the middle of the nineteenth century, as a result of the enterprise of the Basel missionary activity, some educated European people had begun recording events they had heard of from people who had been involved. Reindorf was one of such people. Another person also trained by the Basel Mission as an evangelist is P. Keteku. Most of the traditions recorded in the Anon. *Native Reports in Tshi* had been narrated to P. Keteku who recorded them in the 1850s.

Captain Blenkarne, who was despatched to Accra by Sir Charles MacCarthy in September 1822 to make preparation for the defence of that part of the coast against the Asante invasion,[1] and Amugi, chief of English Accra, sent one Twumasi Ankra as an envoy to Queen mother Dokua, who was at the time ruling Akyem Abuakwa, to persuade her to join the allies.[2] It was known in Accra that the Akyem and the Akuapem had sworn not to declare against Asante; and Addo Dankwa had even sent his son, Atiemo, as a leader of delegation to Dokua 'to inform her of his intention to support the King of Asante and not Sir Charles'.[3] Dokua had agreed to Addo's suggestion, and she was on her way to Kumasi in company of the delegation Addo Dankwa sent to her to swear an oath of fidelity to Osei Bonsu when Twumasi Ankra caught her on the way. It was after much persuasion that Dokua agreed to return with Twumasi to Accra and to declare her support of the British.[4]

Addo Dankwa, on the other hand, was not easily won to the British side, and force had to be used. He, however, did not have all Akuapem with him in his stand against the British. Kwafum, who had just about that time (either late 1822 or early 1823) succeeded to the Aburi stool, was opposed to the Asante alliance.[5] In this he had support not only from his Aburi people but from a large section of the Akuapem people. He went down to the coast and entered into an alliance with the British.[6] The action of Kwafum and his subsequent attack on, and slaughter of, some Asante traders who were coming down to Accra to buy ammunition, led Osei Bonsu to take counter measures by killing the Akuapem envoys, led by Atiemo, who had gone to swear an oath of fidelity to the Asantehene on behalf of Addo Dankwa. Yet Addo Dankwa adhered to the Asante. The result was that a party of four thousand men from Accra led by Captain Blenkarne, Hansen and Richter of Danish Osu, joined Kwafum, who had with him the greater part of the Akuapem people, at Aburi and marched on Addo Dankwa at Akuropon to force him to declare against the Asante. Addo Dankwa was captured by Kwafum, brought before Captain Blenkarne and forced to declare against the Asante. He gave up his son, Kofi Bampo, and his nephew, Okra, as hostages to guarantee his declaration.[7]

Despite the use of force, Addo Dankwa was still lukewarm towards the British alliance.[8] His position should be understood. He owed his stool to the Asante. In the Asante campaign of 1814–16, Addo Dankwa was promised by Amankwaa Abinowa that if he was able to deliver the elusive Kwao Saforo Twe, into his

1 Metcalfe, p. 78 2 Reindorf, p. 175

3 *Ibid.* On the other hand the evidence in Akuapem traditions indicates that though the Akuapem were afraid of Asante, for the 1811–16 war was still fresh in their minds, they did not give any opposition to the English envoy; and readily agreed to support Mankata (Sir Charles MacCarthy) whom the tradition describes as 'a tall stout white man', *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 13. Reindorf's account may be accepted as true; for one difficulty about traditions in general is that they are, on most occasions, silent on events which are a sore point in the history of the people. In this instance in particular, the fact that the event was connected with some sort of revolt by the Aburihene, an attempt will be made to cover up that part of the story.

4 Reindorf, pp. 175–6

5 Guineiske Journaler, Major Richelieu to Copenhagen, 30 January 1824; Reindorf, pp. 176–7

6 Reindorf, p. 177

7 *Ibid.*; Metcalfe, p. 105 n; Guineiske Journaler, Major Richelieu to Copenhagen, 20 January 1824

8 Reindorf, p. 177

hands, he would make him chief of Akuapem. Reindorf states this casually.[1] Danish sources are not specific either. The only record of it says that Addo Dankwa, heir of Kwao, appeared at Osu asking for money to pay the Asante so that they could depart; instead of the 200 slaves and 2000 rigsdaller which the Asante were demanding, the Danes could only give him 250 rigsdaller.[2] However, T. E. Bowdich is rather specific. He says that 'Addo Dankwa betrayed his brother Kwao Saffatchee because the Asante had promised him the stool.[3] Addo Dankwa may thus be held responsible for the betrayal of Kwao Saffatchee' (Saforo Twe). It was only natural that he would support his benefactors. On the other hand it is difficult to understand why Kwafum had a strong desire for alliance with the British against the Asante. It may have been opposition to Addo Dankwa. If that is so, it is not difficult to see why in 1835 he was a leading figure in the circumstances which led the Danes to declare Addo deposed and Adum enstooled in his place.[4]

There is sufficient evidence from Reindorf, supported by Akuapem traditions,[5] that Akuapem was a member of the alliance of southern states including Fante, Ahanta, Akyem, Accra,[6] Akwamu and Krobo[7] which fought the disastrous 1824 war commonly known as the Battle of Nsamankow in which Sir Charles MacCarthy lost his life. Metcalfe briefly mentions that 'Ado Dankwa had been coerced into declaring against the Ashanti in 1823'.[8] But the tradition goes further to say that the Akuapem contingent attacked and destroyed a small Asante party in Kwawu country. It is clear from this source that the main Akuapem army did not take part in the campaign in which Sir Charles lost his life, though a contingent was sent from the hills to aid him. For after the destruction of this Asante party they heard of the death of Sir Charles and the destruction of his force.[9]

Though the Akuapem and their allies could not achieve their objective in the 1824 campaign, it was not difficult to get them to take part in another alliance two years later. Here again Akuapem recorded traditions[10] contain details of the part the state played in the war. Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon, who built the great alliance, is known in a tradition of this war as *Krodua*.[11] He sent troops and ammunition to Mampon in Akuapem, but withdrew to Accra and prepared to meet the Asante army which had reached the Akyem country. The Akyem had fled into the Akuapem hills and were driven together with men, women and children to Aburi. Meanwhile the Asante army had encamped at Amanokrom in the hills. Addo Dankwa sent messengers to Accra to inform the British of the movement of the Asante troops, which were moving towards Dodowa, with Accra as their ultimate destination.[12] Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon, the narrative continues,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 160

2 Guineiske Journaler, Flindt's Report, 30 October 1816

3 Bowdich, p. 244

4 The story of Addo Dankwa and Adum is narrated in the previous chapter.

5 *Native Reports in Tshi*, pp. 12–16

6 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 145

7 Reindorf, p. 178

8 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 104

9 *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 13

10 The following account of the war is obtained from *Native Reports in Tshi*, pp. 13–15

11 It is not easy to guess why Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon was called *Krodua* by the Akuapem.

12 D.F.U.A., 'Extracts from the Battle with the Assianthees' (from *The Times*, 1826). See also Claridge, p. 385

gathered all his forces and arranged the positions they would take the following day (which was a Monday)[1] against the Asante on the plains near Dodowa. Almost every chief of the alliance promised to take the vanguard position.[2] Their enthusiasm and confidence seemed very high.

The great part Akuapem played in this war is fully confirmed from documentary sources. In a despatch to Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 1812–27, Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon, gave an explicit account of this:

> Among the plunder is, I learn, the state umbrella, the Golden Stool of State, the gold dust. . . . But what I consider (in a national point of view) of still greater importance, is that the head of the late Sir Charles MacCarthy has been recovered . . . and it is at the moment in the possession of Adonoqua, King of Aquapim, who asks a great sum for it.[3]

The Danes also reported that same news:

> The head of the English general, Sir Charles MacCarthy, killed in 1824, was taken from the Asantierne by the Aquapimmerne [Danish negroes] and has been handed over to the English Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon.[4]

Perhaps the most significant result of the victory at Akantamansu in the history of Akuapem is that it gained once more for the ste, independence from an external power, and the war can thus be called the 'second war of liberation'. This independence was sealed and signed five years later in the Treaty of 1831.[5] This relief from Asante domination may have been cherished in Akuapem tradition more than the wealth and prisoners obtained from the retreating Asante army. It is recorded that many of the Akuapem chiefs made state horns in praise of the white man for his contribution. Sir Charles MacCarthy was not forgotten in this praise.[6]

On the other hand the 1826 war had its evil effects on Akuapem as the 1811–16 wars had had. The loss of Akuapem lives during the battle is recorded as being only two; but those who lost their lives through famine brought about by the destruction of farms of the invading and retreating Asante army could not be counted.[7] Resettlement must have been rapid, and farming activities resumed. In the next decade the palm oil production of the hill country and of Krobo was to embroil the Akuapem state in the struggle for economic and political supremacy over this prosperous region in the Gold Coast, with the Danish and the English merchants at the coast.

1 D.F.U.A., 'Extracts from the Battle with the Assianthees', Claridge, p. 386.

2 Claridge, p. 386. Claridge writes, 'The native allies had been quarrelling amongst themselves for several days as to the positions they were to occupy, each tribe professing great anxiety to find itself opposed to the king.'

3 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 104; Claridge, on the the other hand, says (p. 389), 'it became known later that it (the skull) was really that of the deceased Tutu Kwamina, which Okotu (Osei Yaw Akoto) had brought with him as a powerful talisman after having been warned by the Tano Fetish not to undertake the campaign'.

4 *Danish State Times Inland and Internal News*, Copenhagen, 30 April 1827

5 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, pp. 143–4

6 *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 16 7 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

Akuapem, Denmark and Great Britain *c.* 1788–1850

The defeat of the Asante at Akantamansu in 1826, which marked the end of a long period of war (1807–26) and the resumption of peaceful trade on the Gold Coast, did not bring peace to Akuapem. As already discussed in Chapter 2, the decade 1835–45 witnessed the worst crisis in the government and politics of the Akuapem state. Added to this internal crisis was the rivalry between the Danish and the English trading companies on the Gold Coast for commercial supremacy over Akuapem and its neighbour, Krobo. The officials of the two trading nations referred the matter to their respective governments in Europe, and much patience was needed to avoid a serious clash between the two nations over these territories. Despite these disturbing factors, the year 1835 also saw the beginning of the Basel missionary activities in Akuapem[1] – the only external factor, during this period of Akuapem history, which left any permanent impact not only on the history of Akuapem, but also on that of Ghana as a whole.

By 1808 both Denmark and Great Britain had abolished the Slave Trade for their respective nationals.[2] This necessitated a diversion of trade from slaves to 'legitimate' commodities. In the 1830s trade in palm oil was gradually assuming great importance on the coast of West Africa. In the Gold Coast, the Akuapem and Krobo districts were the most important region for this trade commodity. Akuapem and Krobo farmers were actively engaged in planting palm trees and supplying the demands of commerce in palm oil on the coast.[3] The missionary A. Riis writing of Kyerepon villages west of their towns in 1839 reported:

> The oil palm grows here in quantity, and is a principal means of livelihood to the people. From its fruit they obtain a quantity of oil, which is sold to the Europeans on the coast and brings much profit to them every year.[4]

1 The early phase of the work of the Basel Mission Society in Akuapem is examined in the next chapter.

2 Denmark declared the Slave Trade illegal in 1803. 'Forodning om Neger-Handelen, Christiansborg Slot den 16de. Martii 1792.' Danish State Archives, Copenhagen. Clause I of this ordinance states: 'That at the beginning of the year 1803, we shall see that all negro trade for our subjects shall cease on the African coast. . . .' Great Britain followed in 1807. See Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 4.

3 Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana*, p. 163; Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', p. 17

4 Cited in Johnson, 'Migrants' Progress', p. 17, referring to Evangelische Missions – Magazin, 1839, p. 456

The Krobo region, however, was known to be a larger producer of palm oil than Akuapem.[1] 2,000,000 gallons of palm oil annually reached the coast from the Krobo area,[2] and from the Akuapem mountains. The missionaries Widmann and Dieterle observed that 'thousands of pots of oil were carried annually' to the coast.[3] Further evidence of the increasing economic importance of this area – Akuapem and Krobo – can be cited from a letter the acting Lieutenant Governor at Cape Coast, James Fitzpatrick, wrote to Whitehall concerning Danish claims over the area. He wrote:

> In Aquapim is situated a chain of Hills called the Croboe Mountains from the neighbourhood of which comes almost all the Palm Oil which is collected between Annamaboe and Whydah. . . . In truth it is the only industrial pursuit to which the Natives in any number apply themselves, and I am credibly informed that it has increased six fold within the last very few years.[4]

Any attempt by the European trading nations at Accra to assume any sort of exclusive rights and jurisdiction over these territories was bound to lead to serious clashes among themselves. This was exactly what the Danish agents at Christiansborg proceeded to do in 1835. The background to Danish interference in Akuapem in the 1830s must be traced up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Danish interest in Akuapem started in the 1770s, and though this was predominantly economic, it had political implications as well. It is certain that the two other European trading companies on the Gold Coast at the end of the eighteenth century had trading interests in Akuapem, as they had in the other interior states, for the supply of slaves, and foodstuffs to feed the slaves. The interest of the Danish authorities went beyond this pattern of merely buying and selling. The Danes became interested in matters other than gold and the slave trade. They began to take an active interest in the cultivation of African crops. Things developed slowly and they succeeded in establishing European-owned plantations in Akuapem and the plains south and east of that country.[5] The extent of the Danish effort was modest, but its pioneering character entitles it to some attention.

The Danish plan of establishing plantations and 'colonies' inland, which became a major policy of the Danish government from 1792[6] onwards, was the direct outcome of their desire to abolish the slave trade towards the end of the eighteenth century. The ordinance for its abolition was made in 1792, but did not

1 Hill, p. 163; C.3687, Further Correspondence regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, August 1882, p. 27

2 D. Kimble, *Political History of Ghana*, Oxford 1962, p. 6

3 Cited in A. K. Quarcoo and M. Johnson, 'Shai Pots, The Pottery Industry of the Shai people of Southern Ghana'. *Baesler-Archiv, Neue Folge*, Band XVI, 1968, p. 55

4 C.O. 96/15, J. C. Fitzpatrick to Earl Grey, 10 June 1849

5 Many plantations were projected in the course of the first half of the nineteenth century. Ruins of the few actually carried out can still be found in modern Ghana. Four of these ruins were identified by H. Jeppesen, a Danish geographer in 1965. See H. Jeppesen, 'Danske plantageanlaeg paa Guldkysten, 1788–1850', a reprint from *Geografiske Tidsskrift*, 1966, pp. 48–88.

6 In 1792 the Danish government assumed direct responsibility for the forts and 'possessions' on the Gold Coast until 1850. See G. Nørregaard, p. 276.

come into force until January 1, 1803.[1] Perhaps the man to whom credit must be given for the implementation of this new idea of establishing plantations on the Danish Guinea coast is Paul Erdmann Isert,[2] German born, but in the service of the Danish trading company.

Isert[3] was a doctor, who lived and worked on the Gold Coast from 1783 to 1787. In the latter year he returned to Denmark via the West Indies on board a slave ship. He became convinced of the evils of the trade during the voyage, and came to the conclusion that tropical products might as well be raised in Guinea as in the West Indies, so as to avoid the misery of the slaves. Isert found sympathetic ears in Denmark for these thoughts, discussions of which had already gained ground. Particularly helpful was Grev Ernst Schimmelmann, the finance minister of Denmark, and Isert received financial support for his plan of establishing plantations.[4] He returned to the Gold Coast in November 1788 and immediately began to put his plans into operation. After a fruitless attempt near Malfi on the bank of the river Volta, Isert decided to establish a 'colony' in the Akuapem mountains. In December 1788, he obtained, by a treaty with Obuobi Atiemo, the Okuapemhene, a piece of land for his project.[5]

The treaty between Isert and Obuobi Atiemo is significant in the history of the Gold Coast for it may also be regarded as one of the earliest attempts by a European power to establish a colony in the Gold Coast by treaty making. The preamble of the treaty (appearing in full in Appendix IV) reads:

> Treaty between H.M. the King of Denmark and the Republic of Krobbo on the Gold Coast near the Rio Volta in Guinea, agreed and concluded on the one side by P. E. Isert, Royal Danish Captain of Infantry, and Governor of the African Colony; and on the other, by the Kabusser of Krobbo, and the most distinguished Nobility.[6]

It is strange that throughout the treaty which comprised twelve provisions or clauses, Akuapem was referred to as 'the republic' of Krobbo. This may be a misprint.[7] There is no doubt that the treaty was made with the ruler of Akuapem. Firstly, 'Atiambo' who signed the treaty on behalf of the African state is none other than Obuobi Atiemo, who was the Okuapemhene during the period.[8] Isert in his report to Ernst Schimmelmann in January 1789, referred to Atiemo as the

1 See p. 95 above.

2 *Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, Guld-kysten*, P. Isert, 'Dokumenter angaaende de af P. E. Isert foreslaasde Kokonieanglaeg Rio-Volta', Thaarups Archiv for Statistik, Politik og Huusholdningsvidens kaber, 1797–98, pp. 231–68. It must however, be noted that Isert was not the first to conceive this idea nor to start it. His main credit lies in the fact that he began it on a bold and grand scale. See Nørregaard, pp. 271–2.

3 His brief biography given here is translated and adapted by the author from Raunkiaer, pp. 186–91. For further reading of prior activities of Isert before 1788, see C. D. Adams, 'Activities of Danish Botanists in Guinea 1783–1850', *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, 1957, pp. 30–46; Nørregaard, *Vore Gamle Tropekolonier*, Guld-kysten, pp. 270–89.

4 Isert, *Dokumenter angaaende de a P. E. Isert*, pp. 231–40

5 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, Thaarups Archiv for Statistik, Politik og Huusholdningsvedens kaber, p. 241 and *Iserts Breve*, p. 188

6 *Ibid.*, p. 248 7 The original treaty is in German. 8 See Chapter 2.

'man with whom from the Augnaer [Anlo] war[1] I united myself again as an old friend'.[2]

Secondly, in his report, Isert mentioned the name of the state in which he was going to build the 'colony' and plantation as 'Aquapim', and he described the land and its people. He wrote:

> The next day I travelled to the Hill country, Aquapim, whose sound climate and good soil were previously well known to me. I introduced myself to the Landlord, Atiambo . . . Aquapim is the best Negro nation I have known on this coast. The people are readily delighted with the building of a colony and they are looking for the possibility of supporting us with cheap [payment] labour. For my own Residence and the building of 1½ mile long road on which 100 to 200 negroes have been working daily for 3 weeks, I paid no more than the value of 3 men slaves, that is about 400 Danish rigsdaller.[3]

Thirdly, in later records of the Danish trading company on the Gold Coast, references were made to the plantation of Isert in Akuapem.[4] Fourthly, in 1965, the ruins of the building of this plantation were identified by H. Jeppesen.[5] The site is shown on Thonning's map of 1802, as Amanopa.[6]

When Isert arrived at Akuropon in December 1788, he laid his plans before Atiemo and his elders.[7] The Okuapemhene and his elders, after 'different debates' showed Isert a piece of land he could use for his project. According to the treaty signed later, Isert bought, on behalf of the Danish King, this piece of land in the Akuapem hills.[8] His immediate plans, as he indicated in his report to Schimmelmann in January 1789, were to build houses for the Africans who would be employed on the plantation and who would become citizens of the colony. Their houses would be 'after their own fashion'.[9] At the same time he started to build a residence for himself, and a road. At the time of the report, the road was one and a half Danish miles[10] long and had been built to link the settlement with Accra. The distance between the proposed colony and the coast was about five to six Danish miles and though transportation was a 'bit difficult the ground was fertile, with good water and sufficient rain and building materials are not difficult to obtain'.[11] On December 21, 1788, the project was advanced enough to allow a ceremonial opening, Isert wrote:

> 21 Dec. 1788 was the solemn day on which I occupied my new house [*Vaaning*] and Duke Atiambo and his Council handed over the land, on which he himself

1 Isert, *Iserts Breve*, p. 54. In this campaign, which is known in the history of Ghana as the battle of Datsutagba (see Ward, *A History of Ghana*, p. 228). Isert, at one stage in his 4th letter to his father, praised the part of the 'Hill negroes' led by their 'Duke Attiambo'.

2 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, p. 242 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 242–3

4 *Skrivelse fra Gouvenementer paa Kristiansborg til den Guineiske Handels-Direktion 1789*, Thaarups Archiv for Statistik, Politik og Huusholdningsvedens kaber, pp. 264–8. Guineiske Journaler, 4 February 1802, refers to Isert's plantation built in Akuapem, on which there were still 'seven men'.

5 Jeppesen, p. 52 6 Thonning, *Kurt de danske Besiddelser*

7 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, p. 242 8 *Ibid.*, p. 248 9 *Ibid.*, p. 243

10 The Danish mile in the eighteenth century may be converted to statute miles by multiplying by 4·68. See Adams, p. 45.

11 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, p. 243

> and two of his most important men [elders] planted the Danish flag at the entrance and thereby sealed eternal loyalty and friendship, after the previously written exhaustive Treaty between His Majesty and the King of Denmark and him'.[1]

The place, which was later referred to as Amanopa in the records of the Danish trading company,[2] is situated north-east of present day Akuropon. The plantation was named after the Crown prince, Frederiksnopel.[3] But Isert was not to see the fruit of his labour. Five days after sending his first and only report on the project to Schimmelmann he died – 21 January 1789.[4]

The work of Isert did not die with him. Though the project at Akuropon initiated by him was abandoned, the plan for plantations elsewhere in the south-eastern Gold Coast went ahead. His intention had been the cultivation of coffee, sugar and cotton.[5] In 1802, when the Generaltoldkamner (the Customs Board) recalled the military staff stationed there, there were some houses and a small plot of land on which cotton was planted.[6] After this, when the Danes made reference to their forts and possessions on the Gold Coast, Amanopa or Frederiksnopel were included.[7]

Sound as the project may have been and good as his intentions were, Isert's activities cannot escape criticism. The Akuapem project may have suited both the Danes and Atiemo. By the treaty, Isert assumed that he had gained a complete and *bona fide* ownership of the land for a 'colony' on behalf of the King of Denmark. The first and second clauses of the 'Treaty of 1788' state:

1 His Majesty the King buys from the Republic all Land with its Accessories [*Tilbehør*] which is owned but which is not of use to any of the inhabitants at the present Time.
2. His Majesty has the right [*Lov*] to cultivate such bought Land, make Plantations, and for that matter, treat as his Possession [*Ejendom*].[8]

This is very significant, for Isert, as well as many Danes in his day, may well have thought of a real ownership and a 'colony' of the pattern which was established in the West Indies at the time. The clauses following stipulated the relationship between the rest of the Akuapem state and the 'colony'.[9] The Danish authorities at Osu may have thought of this as a confirmation of their victory over the Dutch in their attempt to win the help and cooperation of Akuapem during the Dutch-

1 *Ibid.*

2 Thonning; Guineiske Journaler, Det Generaltoldkamner og Commerce Collegium til det Kongelige Departement for de udenlandke Sager (D.F.U.A.), 17 July 1817

3 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, p. 244

4 Isert, *Iserts Breve*, p. 188

5 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, p. 244

6 Guineiske Journaler, Interim Governor Ahnholm to Copenhagen, 17 September 1802

7 Guineiske Journaler, Det Generaltoldkamner og Commerce Collegium til det Kongelige Departement for de udenlandke Sager (D.F.U.A.), 19 July 1817, copies to Danish ambassadors in London and Paris, 27 June 1818

8 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, pp. 248–9

9 *Ibid.* See Clause 3 in Appendix IV.

Danish dispute of 1775–77 over Ada.[1] Thus in 1788, when Isert succeeded in signing a formal treaty with the ruler of the Akuapem state by which 'no European, of whatever nation other than this (Danish) must be permitted to settle in Krobbo's Territory without obtaining previous Consent from the Colony's Royal Government',[2] it was a significant achievement. Significant, not only for the economic project Isert had in mind, but also for the political supremacy the Danes wanted to achieve on the east coast, to the exclusion of other European powers, particularly the Dutch.[3] It remained to be seen how effectively this treaty could be used in the future in keeping other European powers out of Akuapem.

To Atiemo and his elders, the treaty probably meant only a temporary cession of the right to use the land to Isert. Perhaps Atiemo and his elders were not fully informed of the interpretation of the first two clauses of the Treaty, by which the King of Denmark acquired full rights of possession of part of Akuapem land. On the other hand, it may be that the Okuapemhene and his elders were obsessed with the Ghanaian conception of land holding,[4] by which they thought that after the white man had left the land its ownership could revert to the people. However, if Atiemo had adequate knowledge of the implications of this agreement, it is difficult to see how the project would have survived protests from his subjects who would be expecting their lands back in the future. The Danes may well have been unaware that in the Gold Coast no land could be without owner or lie fallow for ever, and that the chiefs were mere custodians of the land given to them in trust by their people.

On the other hand, Atiemo and his elders may have been attracted by the annual gifts they were going to receive from the Danish authorities at Accra. This payment was initially voluntary presents, and 'if the friendship and cooperation of the Republic towards the colony's inhabitants' increased in the future, 'His Majesty will allow to the Kabusseer of Krobbo a monthly salary of 6 Danish rigsdaler, 2 pieces [*Favne*][5] tobacco, 2 bottles of Brandy wine, ½ dozen

1 The Aarestrup Memorandum (Uldall, Fol. 130, *op. cit.*) on this dispute was an attempt to justify the claim of the Danish trading company for complete authority over the Ada people. Aarestrup who was the governor of the Christiansborg Castle (1772–77), traced the background to this Danish claim and how Akuapem was brought into this dispute. Both the Dutch and the Danes appealed to Atiemo, the Okuapemhene, for support, it appears from both Danish and Dutch sources that Atiemo and a section of his state supported the Danes while the other towns in Akuapem supported the Dutch. The result of this in Akuapem may have been the internal crisis of 1777–78 in which many of the towns tried to throw off allegiance to Atiemo. See Chapter 2. See also V.G.K., Palaverboger, entries 14 and 25 May and 8 June 1776 and Kystdokementer, entry 1 February 1777. See Plate 2

2 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*, p. 249. This is Clause 5 of the Treaty. Isert was appointed Captain of the Royal Army and Governor of the 'Colony'. See *Autorisation for Hr. P. E. Isert*, Thaarups Archiv, p. 232.

3 By this date, 1788, however, the Dutch-Danish dispute concerning Ada was over. The Dutch had in 1782 been defeated in a battle against the English at Accra, and as a sequel their interest on the east coast of the Gold Coast waned, and they were concentrating all their efforts along the western coast and Asante. See Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 122–3.

4 The system of land tenure among the Akan recognises the chiefs as mere custodians of the land. However, they have right to give up land to strangers (from another tribe, for instance) for use, but they must remain users of the land and cannot consider themselves as perpetual owners.

5 *Favne* (plural) a Danish word meaning 'armfuls'. It is difficult to estimate the nature of this measure in the eighteenth century. However, it is likely that a standard measure of what pieces of tobacco one could 'grasp in the arm' was obtained.

pipes, and yearly presents on their New Year to a number Grandees: 5 ankers of Brandy wine, 6 dozen pipes, 12 'pieces' of tobacco, 4 pieces of cotton, besides a nice Lifebelt [*Livbelt*][1] for the Kabusser'.[2] Furthermore, the ruler of Akuapem may have thought the agreement with the Danes would attract trade to his country and give him direct contact with the Danish trading company, and thus gain the facilities which his colleagues in Akyem and Accra had.

Finally, it is difficult to see how the slave trade and slavery on the coast would have been stopped. For slave labour was employed on the project started by Isert, and after his death it was known that a number of slaves were still kept on the 'colony'.[3] Perhaps it was the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade that was the main concern of the Danish government. In point of fact it was the handling of the slaves on board the trans-Atlantic slave ships from West Africa to the West Indies that had disturbed Isert, and convinced him of the need to undertake the project of plantation and 'colonisation'.[4]

After Isert's death in 1789, and the recall of the military staff in 1802, it was not until 1808 that another attempt was made to establish plantations in Akuapem. This attempt though more successful, was to last only three years; for in 1811 the Asante destroyed what has been described as 'the biggest establishment . . . found and the one which had the greatest extent and highest production'.[5] This was the Dacubie plantation near Berekuso in Akuapem. It was set up by Governor Schiønning (1807–17) in 1808.[6] In 1809 it was reported to have contained forty thousand coffee bushes and banana plants.[7] Schiønning exported about ten tons of coffee in 1809 from Dacubie, and in 1811 about a hundred tons.[8] There is an English report of 1811 on the Dacubie plantation and it is worth quoting:

> The Governor of the Danish fort at Accra, having formed a plantation about fifteen miles up country, it might be desirable not to molest him in the prosecution of work which may, by force of example, turn greatly to the benefit of Africa. It was commenced three years past, and coffee is already brought to great perfection.[9]

In 1811, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, the Asante army deliberately demolished it. The destruction of this plantation marked the end of the Danish efforts in the development of 'legitimate' commerce in Akuapem initiated by Isert. However, their efforts elsewhere continued.[10] Most of the

1 *Livbelt* may be a cummerbund or waist sash.

2 Isert, *Iserts Beretning*. See amended translation, Appendix IV, Clause II.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 244. Isert writes, 'The few negroes I hold here, I use them for tree uprooting and plantation building as well as planting cotton, indigo, tobacco.' See also Report, 2 February 1789, signed by J. F. Ripnasse, J. E. Richter and P. Mejer to Copenhagen after Isert's death, pp. 264–8

4 Raunkiaer, *Iserts Breve*, p. 187 5 Jeppesen, pp. 57–61

6 Guineiske Journaler, letter from Schiønning to Copenhagen, 15 October 1808

7 *Ibid.*, 26 December 1809 8 *Ibid.*

9 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 21

10 Adams, pp. 30–46. Details of Danish plantation projects outside Akuapem can be read in this article. See also Jeppesen; Nørregaard, *Vare Gamle*, 15 May 1794

plantations made afterwards were situated at the foot of the Akuapem hills, mainly because of the amount of precipitation and especially the spread of it over the year. Another reason why their efforts were concentrated at the foot of the hills was the necessity to create as little difficulty in transportation as possible. Perhaps the main reason for the abandonment of the Frederiksnopel project was its position far inland which entailed serious transportation difficulties over mountainous land. This was acknowledged by Governor Biørn who disturbed the work of Commander Jens Hillsen Flindt, a former assistant of Isert, who was in charge of Frederiksnopel after Isert's death until 1794, when he left.[1]

Though the 'colony' of Isert failed and after 1811 no plantation project was attempted in Akuapem until the coming of the Basel Missionaries, the nearness of the subsequent plantations to Akuapem, as a result of the geographical factors mentioned above, led to two developments: firstly, the Danes tried to maintain good relations with Akuapem 'because it was in their country that the best sites for plantations were to be obtained'[2]; secondly, the Danish authority at Osu, Christiansborg, attempted to establish suzerainty over the Akuapem state.

It was not only towards Akuapem that this attempt was made. In their desire to achieve greater economic supremacy over their English counterparts at Accra, the Danes realised that they could only succeed in exercising a measure of control over the interior African states of Akuapem, Krobo and to some extent Akyem Abuakwa. It is in Akuapem that this aspect of Danish policy in the Gold Coast is particularly obvious. They had already tried to achieve this by influencing these states with annual allowances. Akuapem and Akyem, like the coastal states, were receiving an annual allowance from the Danish government at Christiansborg. It is not clear whether this payment to the 'Akuapem ruler and his distinguished men' had gone on without a break since 1788. However, since 1788, there had been references to this. In 1788, Biørn wrote that Atiemo 'enjoys a monthly pay of 8 rigsdaller slave price, salary besides a yearly present during his Yam Festival, of similar articles, which are given to the King of Asante, but reasonably simply in quality to about 200 Rdl. gold value'.[3] In 1811 Schiønning, writing to the English Governor Dawson, also pointed out 'that the kings of Akyem and Aquapim are receiving annual payment from Christiansborg castle . . . they have also sworn allegiance to the Danish authorities many years ago'.[4] And in 1817 the Generaltoldkamner (the Customs Board) wrote to the D.F.U.A. (Department for External Matters) that 'the ruler in Aquapim and some of his distinguished people receive together 108 rigsdaller for showing friendliness towards the Danes'.[5] Thus it seems possible that since the 'Treaty of 1788' the Akuapem ruler had not ceased enjoying allowances from the Danish authorities; and relying on this, political control could be effected by the Danes.

The man who attempted this was Frederick Siegfred Mørch, an energetic and

1 Guineiske Journaler, letter from Biørn to Copenhagen, 15 May 1794

2 Adams, p. 40

3 Biørn, *Beretning*, p. 204. It appears from Biørn's report that there were regular monthly payments before 1788. In fact, Akuapem traditions suggest that they started in 1784 during and after the Anlo war of that year.

4 Guineiske Journaler, Schiønning to Governor Dawson, 20 June 1811

5 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 19 July 1817

ambitious naval officer who was appointed interim governor in August 1834[1]; he arrived to assume duty at the Danish settlements in December 1834.[2] In September 1837 he was promoted full governor.[3] Mørch was obsessed with the hope of establishing a European 'colony' in Akuapem where his predecessors had established plantations of coffee and other products.[4] But, as Metcalfe has rightly stated, he hastened not only his own end but the end of Danish rule by his ambitious actions.[5] Not only were his actions resented by the Akuapem, but they came into a headlong collision with the policy of the British administration under Captain George Maclean.

Serious disagreements between the Danes and the English trading companies on the Gold Coast had begun earlier, after the defeat of the Asante in 1826, on issues outside Akuapem. The dispute between Maclean and Mørch over Akuapem in 1835 was thus a continuation of quarrels between the two trading nations with a background in events of the 1820s. In 1827, Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley, the acting governor of the Cape Coast castle, had disagreed with H. G. Lind, a representative of Governor J. F. Flindt of Christiansborg castle, at a meeting in Cape Coast over the caution money the Asante were to pay in the peace treaty negotiations after the latter's defeat. The Danes demanded that half this money be deposited at Christiansborg castle; this was rejected by Lumley.[6] He refused the Danish demands because he claimed that the Danes had been paid for their part in the war.[7] In fact, the Danes had received £2500 for their part in the 1824 war, and this money had been collected by Major Richelieu as compensation for the expenses the Danes incurred during the war.[8]

The second question of dispute between the English and the Danes was the extent to which the eastern states of Akyem, Akuapem and Akwamu were under Danish authority.[9] Despite these difficulties, in February 1830, the officials of the two trading nations, Maclean on behalf of the British and Lind for the Danes, had agreed on the terms to be observed in a peace treaty with the Asante; the Danish representative had shown 'reliance on the Honour, and integrity of the British government, to allow them discretionary power to act for them therein; they, the British government, pledging themselves not to deviate from the conditions herein stated, and as early after as convenience can admit, to communicate to the Danish government their future proceedings'.[10] In the end, however, both

1 *Ibid.*, D.F.U.A., 26 August 1834

2 J. Bronsted (ed) *Vore Gamle Tropekolonier*, Copenhagen, 1952, pp. 599–608; also Nørregaard, *Vore Gamle*, pp. 319–24

3 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 9 September 1837

4 Nørregaard, *Vore Gamle*, pp. 319–21

5 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 199

6 *Ibid.*, p. 49; Nørregaard, *Vore Gamle*, p. 311

7 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 49

8 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 2 October 1828

9 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 50

10 Copy of an Agreement entered into with the Government of Danish Accra, relative to the terms to be observed in negotiating with the Ashantee; in the Guineiske Journaler packet marked D.F.U.A. 1804–47, Danish State Archives, signed by W. Lind on 22 and G. Maclean on 25 February 1830.

governments signed separate peace treaties with the Asante and a number of other states in the Gold Coast: the British in April 1831[1] and the Danes in August of the same year.[2]

In 1833, Maclean became involved in affairs in Akuapem for the first time. The first occasion was when he took steps to end the practice which had obtained in the days of Isert of fugitive slaves taking refuge with Akuapem fetish priests in the hills.[3] Four slaves belonging to a very influential mulatto of Jamestown, called Hansen, had fled after committing various burglaries, and taken refuge with the fetish priests of Akuapem. Hansen reported the matter to Maclean who happened to visit Accra at the time. A sergeant and nineteen men were sent by Maclean and the fugitives were brought back; the chief offender called Kobina was severely punished by receiving 500 lashes. He was found dead in his cell the following day. On another occasion, in the same year, Maclean intervened and settled a land dispute between Akuapem and Krobo hunters.[4]

It is probable that it was these activities of Maclean in Akuapem and Krobo which led Mørch, when he took office at the end of the following year, to conclude that Akuapem was being taken over by the British 'who have long sought to bring Aquapim and Akim into revolt against the Danish government'.[5] Mørch planned to check this development. On the pretext of recovering his health in the hills, he visited the missionary Riis at Akuropon in November 1835.[6] The events which followed his arrival in Akuapem confirm the belief that Mørch was more obsessed with the other aim of the visit, that is 'to examine whether colonisation is possible'.[7]

It was during this visit that he undertook the futile expedition involving troops from Labadi, Osu and Akuapem against the Krobo.[8] The expedition incurred the hostility of the Okuapemhene, by its failure, and Addo Dankwa left the field and returned to Akuropon. He also refused to appear at Christiansborg castle to explain his action.[9] Mørch declared him deposed and appointed Adum as his successor. This interference in Akuapem affairs, as already discussed in Chapter

1 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, pp. 133–4

2 Guineiske Journaler, Treaty between the Danes and Asante and other Southern States signed by Governor L. Hein, 9 August 1831, Akiaavah (Prince of Asante), Quaqua (Chief of Asante) and a number of chiefs from Labade, Teshi, Ada, Akwamu, etc. Akuapem and Akyem were, however, not included in this treaty.

3 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 180. Isert had observed during his first visit to the hills in 1786 that 'a fetish priest is the chief of Shentema (Asantema or Obosomase). It is easy for these cheats, when they have achieved some consideration, to become rich and powerful. A slave who is not on good terms with his master, seeks means of arriving at this barracoon. . . . The priest . . . receives him, and from that moment makes him his slave for life without spending a cowry to acquire him. In this way half of the barracoon is populated with these slaves; these hypocrites treat them with gentleness, so that they can attract more of them.' *Iserts Breve*, p. 153.

4 Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast*, p. 198

5 Guineiske Journaler, Major Wrisberg to Copenhagen, 9 April 1836

6 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 12 February 1836

7 *Ibid.* 8 *Ibid.*, also Chapter 2.

9 Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 25 June 1836

2, led to a political division in Akuapem: one section of the state supported Addo Dankwa and the other Adum.[1]

It was at this stage that Maclean intervened. He declared the action of Mørch was inciting disorder in Akuapem and Krobo and causing interruption of the lucrative palm oil trade from this area.[2] This sparked off a struggle between the English and the Danish administrations on the coast and the case was referred home to their respective governments. Mørch wrote home to the Customs Board (Generaltoldkamner) in Copenhagen, the Danish counterpart of the British Committee of Merchants in London, justifying his action with reference to a long-standing claim over Akuapem. On the interruption of trade, Mørch claimed that it was a temporary measure to force the Akuapem to pay a fine imposed on them for their rebellion.[3] In a long memorandum of the type of Aarestrup's memorandum on the Dutch-Danish Dispute of 1775–77, the Customs Board, basing their argument on Mørch's despatches, defended his action on the coast, and supported his claims to sovereignty over Akuapem by recalling the Treaty of Isert in 1788 with Obuobi Atiemo. The memorandum stated in part:

> In order to refute . . . Maclean's pretext, which is partly true, partly untrue . . . the Collegium must go back in time:
>
> Thus one finds that in 1788 Captain Isert concluded a treaty after the accepted formalities of the Negroes with Atiambo, then the great cabuseer of Aquapim in a big assembly of all cabuseers and grandees, whereby he bought from the Aquapim the right of ownership of ground in their land. . . . The transfer was formally accomplished on the 21st December, 1788, and by this agreement Danish plantation building began immediately in Akuapem.[4]

On Maclean's claim that with the defeat of the Dutch by the British in 1782 and 1783, the British became successors to the Dutch suzerainty over Akyem and Akuapem prior to 1782,[5] the Customs Board in the memorandum have this to say:

> This much publicised and extensive Act could not pass away without protests from the Dutch government if the same government thought of any right of jurisdiction over Akuapem; or the English, if they did not consider Akuapem as exclusive Danish territory.[6]

Again on Maclean's argument that between 1807 and 1826 Akuapem and Akyem

1 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, pp. 144–5. See also copy of extract of a letter from the President and Council of Cape Coast Castle, 17 May 1737, Danish State Archives.

2 Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, pp. 144–5. See also copy of extract of a letter from the President and Council of Cape Coast Castle, 17 May 1737, Danish State Archives.

3 Copies of letters from President and Council of Cape Coast Castle to African Merchants, 17 May and 14 July 1837, Danish State Archives.

4 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner og Commerce Collegium til det Konglige Departement for de udenlanske Sager, 5 December 1837 in packet marked D.F.U.A. 1804–1847

5 Copies of letters from G. Maclean to the African Committee, 14 July 1737 and 4 June 1838, Danish State Archives

6 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 5 December 1837

were Asante territories and in the latter year they threw off the Asante yoke and hoisted the British flag,[1] the reply from the Customs Board in their memorandum states:

> There existed at the time (1788) Assianthe supremacy over Akuapem which wholly did not manifest itself; and when an opportunity offered, the Akuapem could reiterate their oath of Homage to the Danish government.[2]

The Customs Board conclude their argument by saying:

> The Akuapem still perfectly recognise their subordinate connection . . . and the compensation paid for their land; this was recently confirmed by the fact that Governor Mørch, in the year 1835, called together Akuapem cabuseers and grandees, because they began to demand special payment for the piece of land . . . and because such special payment involved a breach of the treaty with Isert[3]; . . . by which opportunity they acknowledged the Treaty of 1788 and the legitimacy of the Government rule.[4]

The summary of the views of the Customs Board was communicated by Krabbe, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, through the British ambassador to Copenhagen, Wynn, to the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey. Maclean, who was in London at the time, had an opportunity to reply to this Danish claim.[5] He repeated his claim that Akuapem, Krobo and Akyem until 1782 were Dutch subjects. In 1807 to 1826 they were under Asante and paid taxes to Asante. In 1824, they threw off the Asante yoke and hoisted the British flag. The Danes, he continued, paid nothing for the 'war of liberation' in 1826, and the Treaty of 1831 had since guaranteed the independence of those territories from Asante. The chiefs had expressed a desire for British rather than Danish protection. However, Maclean made it clear that there was no desire on the part of the British authority to extend exclusive jurisdiction over these territories. On the question of trade on the coast, Maclean claimed that Mørch's action had led to the destruction of trade; the Danes supplied arms to Akuapem who had attacked the Krobo, destroying the palm trees and the oil trade. Roads were not safe and the British Merchants had lost their money invested in the trade.[6]

At the beginning of the dispute, Mørch received encouraging support for his action from Copenhagen. In September 1836, Frederick VI, the King of Denmark, had in a letter communicated to the Generaltoldkamner, praised the action

1 Copies of letters from Maclean to African Committee, 14 July 1837 and 4 June 1838, Danish State Archives

2 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 5 December 1837

3 It must be recalled that Clause 11 of the treaty stated that the payment of presents made to Atiemo the Okuapemhene must initially remain voluntary; though it would be increased, there was nothing to show whether it would be on a permanent basis.

4 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 5 December 1837

5 Krabbe-Carisius decision, 8 August 1858 together with Generaltoldkamneret, instructions to Mørch, 29 August 1838, Danish State Archives

6 Copy of letter, Nicholls to Grey, 9 June 1838; enclosure Maclean to African Committee, 4 June 1838, Danish State Archives.

of Mørch in the 'expedition taken against the Krobbo negroes, which was rewarded with success to our perfect satisfaction'; he was awarded a knighthood 'Ridder of Dannebrog'.[1] Lutterodt and Svanekjaer, who were independent Danish merchants on the Gold Coast, and the missionary Riis were mentioned in the King's letter for their 'free willingness in the part they took in the expedition'.[2] Though not clearly expressed as a direct consequence of his activities in the events of late 1835 and early 1836, Mørch was promoted 'full governor of the Danish possessions on the coast of Guinea' in September 1837.[3]

However, in the following year fortune turned against Mørch. It seemed the Danish government in Copenhagen gradually became impressed by the argument of the British authorities expressed in the copies of letters of May and July of 1837 from the President and Council, Cape Coast Castle (even long before the Memorandum of the Customs Board and Maclean's letter of June 1838) and the support given by the Foreign Office, and by Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary himself.[4] In April 1838, Mørch was warned by the Customs Board to exercise 'caution and maintenance of good understanding between neighbouring colonies and in the interest of the mother country'.[5] In August he seemed to have lost all support.[6] Coupled with inadequacy of his troops, the failure of his policy in Akuapem where the deposition of Addo Dankwa and support for Adum had caused dissension, and opposition from the missionary Riis in Akuapem to his plans, he became addicted to alcohol and died at Frederiksgave plantation on 19 March 1839.[7] His death ended this bitter phase of the struggle between the English and the Danes over Krobo and though his successors continued his policy towards Akuapem, they were more cautious than he had been.

Anglo-Danish relations over Akuapem emerged again in the closing decades of the 1840s under different conditions. Edward Carstensen,[8] the last governor of the Danish settlements in Guinea, continued Mørch's policy towards Akuapem but under different conditions, for Maclean was out of office as president, and

1 Guineiske Journaler, copy of a letter signed Frederick R. to Generaltoldkamner, 14 September 1836

2 *Ibid.*

3 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to D.F.U.A., 9 September 1837

4 Copies of (i) letter from Stephen to the Foreign Office for the attention of Viscount Palmerston on the Anglo-Danish dispute over Akuapem and Krobo, 19 August 1837; (ii) letter from Palmerston with reference to a despatch No. 7 of the 10 February 1838 to Sir H. Wynn, Danish State Archives

5 Guineiske Journaler, Generaltoldkamner to Governor Mørch, 7 April 1838

6 Guineiske Journaler, D.F.U.A. to Generaltoldkamner signed by Krabbe-Carisius, 8 August 1838

7 Guineiske Journaler, E. Gjede, Interim Governor, Christiansborg to Copenhagen, 4 April 1839. It is believed that Mørch became embittered because Riis called him 'one of the most unprincipled and licentious individuals who ever lived'. G. Nørregaard, *Vore Gamle*, p. 324

8 Edward James Arnold Carstensen had arrived in the Gold Coast in May 1842, the same time as Bernhard Wilkens who had been appointed Governor of Christiansborg Castle in December 1841 to succeed the two temporary governors, R. Gjede and L. Bell respectively, Mørch's successors. Wilkens died shortly after and Carstensen was appointed temporary governor in August 1842, becoming a full-fledged governor at the end of July 1844. He was the last governor of the Danish settlements on the Guinea coast, and he seems to have executed his duty with great distinction. A number of valuable informative reports he sent home during the period 1842–50 are of great interest to historians of eastern Ghana. The greater number of these reports have been compiled and printed by G. Nørregaard. (See *Edward Carstensen.*)

after 1843 there was no Maclean to contend with.[1] His first act of intervention was in Akyem Abuakwa, where in September 1842 his representative supervised the installation of an Abuakwa ruler, Ata, son of Dokua.[2] He was more active in Akuapem than in Akyem. In 1843, he had settled a dispute between the Okuapemhene and his wing chiefs, and two years later had Adum, the Okuapemhene, deposed and sent into exile in Denmark. The following year he supervised 'the inauguration of a new chief of Aquapim',[3] who became Kwadade I.

Carstensen's only clash with the English colonial government at Cape Coast was in 1842. The English government complained that the people of the village of Berekuso were flying a Danish flag, although the village belonged to James Bannerman, the other principal mulatto of Jamestown.[4] Soldiers were sent by the Commandant of James Fort to force the people to reject the Danish flag. An appeal was made by the people of Berekuso to the Danish authorities at Christiansborg, and they were advised to hand over English private property but not the Danish flag. The matter was later referred to their home governments.[5]

After Maclean had left the office of president, the struggle between the English and the Danes over Akuapem seems to have died down. In 1848, the Danish proposal to sell their Guinea possessions was renewed.[6] Agreement was reached with the British in 1850 when the 'so called' Danish possessions in Guinea including Akuapem were sold to the British for £10,000.[7] In that year too the Akuapem State 'bonded' itself to the British by accepting the British 'protection' envisaged in the Bond of 1844.[8] However, it was not until the end of the century that the British were able to exercise full jurisdiction over the Akuapem State.[9]

1 In 1843, when the British Colonial Office took over the Gold Coast settlements again, George Maclean was appointed Judicial Assessor, and Commander Hill became the Lieutenant-Governor of the Gold Coast.

2 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 6 September 1842

3 See Chapter 2.

4 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 26 October 1842 5 *Ibid.*

6 Guineiske Journaler, Konglige Resolution, 3 April 1848. Since 1792, when the Ordinance for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was proposed, the intention of selling the Danish Guinea possession gradually became a preoccupation of the government in Copenhagen. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Danish Foreign Minister, Niels Rosenkrantz, asked Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, if his country would be interested in the purchase of the Danish Guinea forts and 'territorial rights'. But it seemed Britain's interest in the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon overshadowed any interest she had in Guinea. In 1840 a Royal Resolution stipulated that the Foreign Ministry should 'use the opportunity which may show itself to dispose of the establishment on the coast of Guinea, but until such time occurs, a sum of 27,000 rd. should be provided for the maintenance of these possessions'. See G. Nørregaard, 'England kob Danske Besiddelser', *Danske Historick Tidsskrift*, 1934, pp. 385 ff.; Nørregaard, pp. 336 ff.; Guineiske Journaler, extract af den allerhøieste Resolution af 2 November 1840, *Vore Gamle*, and Resolution of Generaltoldkamneret, 6 February 1841

7 Treaty of Sale of Danish Possessions to Great Britain, signed by Palmerston for Great Britain and Reventlow for Denmark, 17 August 1850; ratified 11 September 1850, Danish State Archives; Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 195

8 W. E. F. Ward, 1958, *op. cit.*, p. 195

9 The gradual growth of the British jurisdiction in Akuapem is noticed from the following measures taken by the British Colonial government in the course of the century. In 1852 the

The 'handing over' of Akuapem and the other inland Danish 'territories' to the British was marked by a grand tour of the territories by Assistant Schønning, representing the Danish governor, Carstensen, who was unable to go on the grounds of ill health, and the English governor, Winniet.[1] At Akuropon and other Akuapem towns the coming of the new overlords was received with joy. Thus the departure of the Danes did not hurt the feelings of the Akuapem. The same attitude was seen at Accra, where the Osu chiefs rejoiced at the coming of the English.[2] This kind of reception was, however, not enjoyed at all the former Danish 'territories'.[3]

Whatever power the Danes claimed to have exercised in Akuapem and other inland states, it was non-effective, nor did the Danish 'rule' in Akuapem leave any mark. Unlike Accra, where a large mulatto population exists today and there exists in the Ga language a number of words of Danish origin,[4] Akuapem can scarcely point to anything Danish. The well-intended project of Isert did not survive his death to have the desired effect. The policy of Mørch, on the other hand, led to confusion and disunity in Akuapem. It is no wonder that he earned the name *Sum*[5] in Akuapem traditions.[6] Though Carstensen's part in Akuapem was less aggressive, the Danish influence at that time was giving way to the English. In the 1840s, Carstensen had permitted the Missionaries to teach English in the schools they had established not only in Akuapem but also at Osu, Christiansborg.[7]

Akuapem chiefs agreed to pay the Poll Tax 'if others did'. However, they did refuse in 1854, following the footsteps of Osu and others. See Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*, p. 256. In 1858 it was proposed that the Okuapemhene among others should receive £40 per annum for exercising British rule in his state (*ibid.*, p. 394). In 1880 it was proposed to introduce the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance in Akuapem (*ibid.*, p. 402).

1 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen's report, February to April, 17 April 1850

2 *Ibid.*

3 The people of other parts of the coast did not easily accept the change of masters. J. J. Crooks, *Records Relating to the Gold Coast Settlements, 1750–1874*, Dublin 1923, p. 337. In 1854, for instance, people east of the Volta revolted and pulled down the British flag, hoisting in its place the Danish flag. They further attacked the forts on the coast east of the Volta. The cause of revolt, expressed by the Governor Major Hill, and quoted in Crooks, was attributed 'to the fact that our stringent rules respecting the sale or transfer of slaves for transportation are strictly enforced, whereas under the Danish government, too weak to control them, those people did whatever they pleased'.

4 Bearers of such names as Richter, Reindorf, etc. in Accra trace their ancestry to Danish agents in the service of the Danish trading company in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There were a number of Danish officials who chose to stay at Osu in Accra. A list of these officials was kept and they received pensions from the Danish government, administered on the Gold Coast by the British Colonial government, until their death. Such officials included H. Malm, Christian Bischoff, Carl Locco, F. Romer. See copies of letters labelled (i) Colonial No. 29 Cape Coast Castle, 6 April 1850; and (ii) Colonial No. 23 Cape Coast Castle, 10 March 1853, Danish State Archives.

5 *Sum* is a Twi word meaning darkness. The name of Mørch may have been interpreted to the Akuapem as 'dark' or 'gloomy' from the Danish word *mørke*.

6 *Native Reports in Tshi*, p. 17

7 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 20 May 1843. In this report Carstensen wrote: 'The English language should be learnt and spoken in Aquapim. . . . As soon as time and circumstance permit, will schools be spread over more places in Aquapim by "emissaries" (missionaries) from Akuropon.'

On the whole the Danes deserve some credit. It was they, more than the British, who realised that the positive method of stopping the trans-Atlantic slave trade (though not slavery) was to promote 'legitimate' trade, and they tried this by establishing plantations in, and at the foot of, the Akuapem hills. Though their attempt met with failure due to factors beyond their control, particularly the Asante invasions, they paved the way for the growth of 'legitimate' commerce in palm oil later in the century. And as a corollary to this, it was perhaps the Danes who pointed the way towards the Akuapem hills to the Basel missionaries whose activities are, as yet, the most dramatic event in the history of Akuapem, if not the whole of Ghana.

CHAPTER FIVE

The missionary factor in Akuapem 1835–1850

The last of the external factors and the one which had perhaps the greatest impact on the history of Akuapem was the missionary enterprise, particularly that of the Basel Mission Society founded in 1815 in Basel, Switzerland.[1] It has had a far-reaching effect not only on the people of Akuapem, but also on Ghana as a whole. The foundation of the Basel Mission in Akuapem was laid by the Danish-born Andreas Riis (1804–54) in 1835.[2]

The Basel Mission Society may have been the first active Christian mission to the Gold Coast.[3] It began its work under the shadow of the Danish castle at Osu. It is significant to observe here that not only was the work of this society promoted and patronised to a great extent by Danes and Germans, but it also worked in Danish 'territory' on the Gold Coast until 1850 when it found itself working in British territory. In fact, the Basel missionaries, until 1845, were regarded as officials of the Danish government on the coast, for their names appear on the list of Danish officials sent out to the Guinea coast between 1820 and 1850.[4] There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the Basel Mission Committee was approached by Governor Richelieu of Christiansborg Castle with a request for missionaries to re-start the work of the eighteenth century[5] – another Danish contribution to economic and social development of the east coast of the Gold Coast. Secondly, the international character of the Basel Missionary Society did not restrict its activities. This nature of the society is fully discussed by J. N. Smith, and he sums this up in the following way:

> . . . . the Mission drew its members and its support from the Churches of both Lutheran and Reformed Confessions, and while it refused to be bound by

1 J. N. Smith, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ghana, 1835–1960*, Accra 1966, p. 19, referring to P. Steiner, *Hundert Jahre Missionsarbeit*, 1815–1915, Basel 1915, pp. 4–17.

2 *Basel Mission Periodicals*. Riis was born in Sleswig, until 1864 a Danish province. Although it was founded in Switzerland, most of the missionaries of the society who worked on the Gold Coast were Germans or Danes.

3 There had been attempts at evangelisation on the coast by such bodies as The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), whose great African missionary had been Philip Quaque (1765–1816), the Moravian Brethren and the Danish Halle Society in the eighteenth century. The activities of these organisations, however, were mainly concerned with education of the mulatto children at Cape Coast and Osu, and such attempts at evangelisation as they had made had scarcely gone beyond the confines of the forts. See Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 213–17, and Smith, pp. 19–28.

4 Guineiske Journaler, 1852, Oversigt over Dødelighede blandt de siden September 1820 til Guinea udsendte Embedsmaend

5 Reindorf, p. 218; K. Larsen, *De Danske*, Guinea 1918, p. 114

> any dogmatic formula or Synodal decision, it remained always in the closest connection with the Churches. Thus from the beginning, the Basel Mission showed a biblical, evangelical, ecumenical and international character which it never lost.[1]

Thus it had no scruples in working under the Danish or the English flag; neither did it choose its workers from Switzerland alone, nor did its men work only for the Basel Mission Society. It provided missionaries for the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1818, the Church of England Missionary Society between 1818 and 1862, and provided pastors to emigrant German-speaking communities in South Russia, North America, Brazil and Australia.[2] Thus when the Basel Mission Society began its work in the Gold Coast in 1828, this was not its first experiment outside Europe. However, the early difficulties of the men sent out to the Gold Coast nearly led to a change of its attitude towards the work of evangelisation in that country. Thrice the Basel Mission Committee was nearly brought to declare that the time was not yet ripe for mission work in West Africa.[3]

The fact that the Basel Mission survived on the Gold Coast and did the magnificent work which is evident in the number of schools and the Christian community in Ghana today, is due to the faith and endurance of Andreas Riis, a member of the second batch of missionaries sent to the Gold Coast. The first batch had arrived at Osu on December 18th 1828.[4] Within eight months three of them had died; the fourth, Johannes Henke, a German, who put up some resistance to death, was in his grave by November 1831, about four months before the arrival of the second batch.[5]

Once again death pruned their number and hopes. Peter P. Jager, a Dane, and Christian F. Heinze from Saxony, died by the end of July 1832.[6] The life of Riis was spared, after a serious sickness, for the work of the critical years (1832–50).[7] For the next three years Riis struggled not only with death, but also with the Danish authorities at Osu to release him for missionary work in the Akuapem hills. Meanwhile, in July 1832, he and Jager paid a visit to Akuapem where the latter died of dysentery and malaria, and as a result of the good reception he

1 Smith, pp. 19–21

2 *Ibid.*, p. 21, referring to Steiner, p. 17.

3 The first occasion was in 1832, when, out of the first seven missionaries sent between 1828 and that year, only one was alive by 1832; the second was in 1840 when Riis, the only survivor of the first seven returned to report that he had made no progress; and the third in 1850 when the Committee was still depressed by losses from death, illness and defection. See Smith, pp. 30, 35 and 42–3.

4 E.C. 6(3), Guineiske Journaler, Lind to Copenhagen, 21 February 1829; *Basel Mission Periodicals*; Reindorf, p. 218

5 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*. The three who died within the eight months were: Gottlieb Hobwarth, a German (who died of liver infection on 8 August 1829), Karl F. Salbach, also a German and Johannes C. Schmidt, a Swiss (both dying from malaria, 29 August 1829). Reindorf, p. 218; Guineiske Journaler, Lind to Copenhagen, 24 April 1832

6 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*.

7 *Ibid.*, extract from Riis's letters, 1835–45; Reindorf, p. 218; Smith, pp. 29–44. The critical years were the period when the Home Committee had to decide whether to abandon or continue the work on the Gold Coast.

received on this journey he decided to return to Akuropon and settle there.[1] He was prevented from doing so by the Danish authorities who employed him in the Danish school at Osu; he also acted as the Chaplain of the Osu Castle, when the Chaplain, Haven, became sick.[2] By the beginning of the year 1835, Riis was relieved of his work as Chaplain and ready to go to Akuropon to settle there.

The journey of Riis to Akuropon[3] is the turning point of the work of the Basel Mission Society in Ghana. The decision to go to Akuropon had arisen as a result of Riis's desire to fulfil his own ambition of beginning a missionary enterprise inland – what he referred to in his diary as 'my own desire to leave the camp at last and to begin my real job among mountain dwellers of Akuapem'.[4] There are other equally important reasons for the Akuapem mission. Firstly, Riis decided to abandon the low-lying coast, so treacherous and capricious in view of the number of deaths since 1828, for the healthier Akuapem mountains. Secondly, there was the urgent request from the Copenhagen Missionary Society (Danish Halle Society) for him to go inland to begin work among a truly indigenous people as yet largely unaffected by the demoralising influence of Europeans on the coast.[5]

After some difficulties with the agents of the Danish trading company at Osu, who were mocking and laughing at his folly and thinking of his plan as a hopeless journey inland, Riis left on 18 January 1835, at about eleven o'clock at night, tracing his way by moonlight and accompanied by a trader named George Lutterodt as an interpreter on a preliminary journey to Akuropon.[6] He arrivèd at Akuropon on 25 January, and was well received by Addo Dankwa, the Okuapemhene. However, before he was allowed to open a mission station at Akuropon, the Omanhene wanted to make sure that Riis was *persona grata*. This was done on his return journey to Akuropon for a permanent settlement on March 20th, when a deputy from the Danish governor accompanied him to explain his position and request that Riis should be given accommodation and protection by the Okuapemhene.[7] With his position so explained, the Okuapemhene granted Riis permission to stay provided Riis would not bring dogs into the town, neither should he farm on Mondays and Fridays nor should he kill black monkeys.[8]

On 25th March, that is, five days after his arrival at Akuropon, the whole Akuapem state sitting at a durbar welcomed Riis to Akuropon, granted him

1 E.C.6 (3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extracts from Riis's letter; Guineiske Journaler, Lind to Copenhagen, 15 September and 10 January 1834

2 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*; Reindorf, p. 218

3 The story of the journey of Riis to Akuropon, of his work in the hill country up to 1845 and of his missionary tours to other parts of Ghana which follows is taken from an extract of Riis's letters (1835–45), extracts from the diary of Riis (1837), Riis's account of his journeys to Akwamu (1839) and Kumasi (1840) recorded in E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, pp. 12–85.

4 *Ibid.*, extract from Riis's diary 5 Smith, p. 30

6 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Riis's letters, 1835–45

7 *Ibid.* The fact that Riis's desire to stay in Akuropon had to have the approval of the Danish governor, shows that during this period the Akuapem rulers still recognised some sort of Danish jurisdiction over Akuapem. See Chapter 4.

8 *Ibid.*

permission to settle and promised him Akuapem protection.[1] By this traditional ceremony, Riis was in effect permitted to begin the missionary work in the Akuapem hills. He began at once. Firstly, he selected a site for a permanent settlement on an open space facing Late and the plains on the outskirts of Akuropon.[2] With the help of the Akuropon people, the area was cleared, trees felled and work begun on a building to house himself, future missionaries, and a school. This first phase of buildings on the mission station was completed in 1836; Riis soon earned the name 'Osiadan' (the builder) from the Akuropon people who were apparently impressed by the style of the house.[3]

Meanwhile, Riis embarked on a visit to the surrounding towns and districts. He visited Late on 4th April, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirede on 16th April 1835.[4] By the end of the decade, his missionary tours had taken him to Krobo and Akwamu in 1838, to Akyem in 1839,[5] and to Kumasi in December 1839.[6] He also found time to learn the Twi language, thus laying a foundation for the great work of Christaller, the author of the Twi-English dictionary. In his Twi studies he found a good and perhaps regular tutor in Owusu Akyem, the nephew of Addo Dankwa.[7]

Despite this advance in the material sphere, Riis had, by 1840, achieved nothing in the spiritual sphere. He had not won any soul for Christ. His journey to Kumasi, which was undertaken with a view to seeing if conditions there were better for a mission to begin,[8] had been discouraging. Unlike Freeman, the great Methodist missionary, he had come to the conclusion that 'more and clearer direction from God (is) needed before a mission to Asante is begun'.[9] More discouraging to Riis and to the Home Committee was the fact that two members of the third batch of missionaries who joined him at Akuropon in November 1837 had died by the end of 1838; only the third member, Miss M. A. Wolter, who became Riis's wife, survived.[10]

Early in 1840, after his return journey from Kumasi, Riis and his wife sailed home, arriving in July, to make a report to the Committee in Basel.[11] He carried home a discouraging report. Twelve years had elapsed since the beginning of the missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast, and no convert had been made at Akuropon after five years' work there, and eight missionaries had died. Despite this report the new Director of the mission, Wilhelm Hoffman, decided that the work started in the territory should continue; Riis was faithfully ready to go back.[12] A new and realistic approach was now to be adopted. Akuropon was to be settled by a group of second and third generation liberated Christian African slaves from the West Indies, as the base and support of a renewed attempt on the

1 *Ibid.* 2 *Ibid.* 3 Reindorf, p. 218

4 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Riis's letters, 1835–45

5 *Ibid.* 6 *Ibid.*, the journey of Riis to Kumasi, 1839–40

7 *Ibid.*, extract from Riis's diary, 1837

8 *Ibid.*, the journey of Riis to Kumasi, 1839–40 9 *Ibid.*, C. C. Reindorf, p. 219

10 *Ibid.*, extract from Mission Magazine of 1842; Reindorf, pp. 218–19

11 E.C. 6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Riis's letters; Reindorf, p. 219

12 Reindorf, p. 219; also Smith, p. 35

Gold Coast.[1] This was also to demonstrate that Christianity was a religion not only for the white man but also for the African.[2] Permission was sought from the Danish and the British governments from whose territories in the West Indies the Christian Africans were to be recruited. Riis was granted a special audience with the King of Denmark, and a 'royal resolution granted the permission needed under certain conditions', and the British government also granted the Christian Africans permission to emigrate.[3] Finally, the Moravian Conference at Berthelsdorf declared its agreement to the project, but pointed out that while Jamaican African Christians showed enthusiasm for the project, their perseverance was an unknown quantity; there was the danger that they might themselves lapse from this faith.[4]

In point of fact, Riis and his new colleagues, Johann G. Widmann and George Thompson, who assisted him in recruiting the African Christians from the West Indies,[5] did find 'several ready to go, but only two lads (were) found suitable', at St Johns in Antigua; the same picture was found in the Danish West Indies.[6] Eventually, in Jamaica, after careful choice, suitable candidates were recruited; six families and three bachelors – John Hall and his wife and son Andrew; John Rochester, his wife and two children, Nana and John; Mr and Mrs Joseph Miller and three children, Rosina, Robert and Catherine; Mr and Mrs James G. Mullings and their child Elizabeth; Mr and Mrs John E. Walker; Mr and Mrs James Green; David Robertson and Alexander W. Clark, and John Hosford from Antigua – sailed from the West Indies to Osu and from there five West Indians went to Akuropon which henceforth became 'like a city on a hill, the light of which could not be hidden'.[7]

What was the result of this new realistic approach? The period 1843 to 1850 has rightly been called by N. Smith 'The Second Attempt'.[8] The period 1828 to 1840 had been one of death and disappointment. Though Riis had survived and had prepared the ground, he had achieved no appreciable success. He had met many difficulties. Not counting the weakness of his health and the loss of the life of his colleagues as well as lack of response from the Africans on the Akuapem ridge, he had become involuntarily involved in Akuropon politics which incurred

1 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extracts from Mission Magazine 1842, pp. 261–6

2 According to Akuapem oral tradition, Addo Dankwa is believed to have told Riis on his arrival that 'Christianity is the white man's religion and the African religion is fetishism, but if he can show him an African who practises the white man's religion, then he and his people will accept his mission'.

3 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, 'Resolution of the Royal Danish College of the general chamber of Customs and Trade', extract from Mission Magazine 1842, pp. 131–8. One major condition was that the request of recruiting might be refused 'if it should disturb public order by a sensation among the blacks' on the West Indian islands. See also Guineiske Journaler, Mørch to Copenhagen, 31 March 1837.

4 Smith, p. 36, referring to N. Eppler, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815–99*, Basel 1900, p. 86

5 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*. The third colleague, Hermann Halleur, was to proceed straight to the Gold Coast.

6 *Ibid.*, Mission Magazine of 1842

7 *Ibid.*, extract from Riis's diary 1835–45. See also Smith, p. 34; Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 20 May 1843.

8 Smith, pp. 35–44

for him the hostility of the Danish authorities at Osu. In 1835, he had been involved in the Akuapem-Krobo dispute, of which the Danish governor Mørch had taken advantage to enforce Danish hegemony over the two territories.[1] After the failure of the Krobo expedition, he had further got himself involved in the Addo Dankwa and Adum dispute which led to the deposition of the former by the Danish governor. Riis's neutrality in these political crises had been misunderstood in the Danish circles; he was accused of supporting Addo Dankwa, and was commanded several times to come down to Christiansborg and to leave his work.[2] He remained at his post, and paid no heed to the Governor's commands. Mørch's death in 1839, perhaps, saved him for a time from incurring the further hostility of the Danish authorities; however, when 'The Second Attempt' was initiated in 1843, the Danish authorities notified the Committee of the Basel Mission Society that 'Reverend Riis might be sent back if his behaviour gives reason for it'.[3] In 1845, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, the military intervention by Riis and the acting Danish Governor Lutterodt led to condemnation of Riis's activity by Governor Carstensen.[4]

Thus the first twelve years of the activities of the Basel Mission Society on the Gold Coast had gradually led to estrangement between the two bodies – the Basel Mission and the Danish government at Christiansborg – which had initially shared a common idea of converting the Africans on the Gold Coast to Christianity as one of the positive measures of suppressing the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In 1844, however, a proposal was made for renewed cooperation between the two bodies. Edward Carstensen, the Danish governor at Accra, in his 'Observation on the Danish Guinea Possessions' stated:

> The Basel Mission has commenced a valuable civilisation and culture institution in the Akuapem hills; uncertainty about the Danish Guinea possessions paralysed its activity. . . . The civilisation work will influence the economy of the possessions: Denmark can contribute in small measure by retaining the establishment, by maintaining peace and order in the land, by allowing its officers a free and fair hand in cooperation with the mission.[5]

In 1846, an aspect of this move for cooperation is seen in a project for a school at Ningo to be established by the Basel Mission with financial aid from the Danish government at Osu.[6] In 1845, Carstensen had reported, after the Okuapemhene Adum had been exiled to Denmark, that there was now peace in Akuapem and the influence of the English which was increasing in Maclean's days was now on the wane.[7]

Yet it was clear that during the next phase of the Basel Mission's work, 1843–

1 The Akuapem-Krobo dispute and the political confusion in Akuropon up to 1845 have been described in Chapters 2 and 3 above.

2 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals, 1828–51*, extract from Mission Magazine 1842, pp. 131–138

3 *Ibid.*; Guineiske Journaler, Royal Resolution, 5 September, 1837

4 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 20 November 1845 and 14 September 1846

5 *Ibid.*, 30 June 1844; also 25 July 1844

6 *Ibid.*, 14 September 1846

7 *Ibid.*, 3 December 1845

50, the Danes were losing political ground in Akuapem, and they eventually departed in 1850. The Basel Mission remained and expanded during the same period, though not without difficulties. One political effect of this second phase was the growth of British influence. One reason for this is that the West Indians were English speakers and this led to the growth of the English language; and its eventual victory over Danish became inevitable.[1] In 1846, Governor Carstensen observed that 'the mission schools have the advantage: that is, the English language is learnt as well as used. . . . In the school in the Danish fort, a language is used which can be regarded as dead'.[2]

On their arrival at Akuropon, where the return of Riis in particular was received with joy, the missionaries had to repair the former house which was found in ruins and to build new ones for which the plan had been drawn by Riis long ago.[3] Slowly, the little Christian settlement of thirty-two houses on the south side of the town took shape. While this was being done, mainly under the direction of Riis assisted by the West Indians, Widmann began serious work on the study of the Twi language and the teaching of the Twi alphabet to some boys.[4] He also began the preparation of a Twi Dictionary.[5] During this phase Widmann, who lived and died at Akuropon (27 November 1876),[6] may have claims to be the greatest missionary after Riis who, in 1844, became discredited as a result of his involvement with Lutterodt in Akuapem politics. Riis had to depart from the Gold Coast in 1845. Besides this political issue, Riis's later contribution to the missionary work became rather a liability. N. Smith has this to say of his later role:

> Riis grew difficult to work with; the death of his child, the political unrest, the burden of leadership, coupled with his own and his wife's failing health, led him to become overbearing and intolerant. . . . He was criticised by his colleagues for his autocratic attitude towards both Africans and Europeans. . . . Persistent reports from his fellow missionaries critical of his leadership finally determined the committee at the end of 1845 to recall him to Basel for discussions. By the time the letter reached Akropong, however, Riis had left of his own accord in a bitter frame of mind. . . . At home he was adjudged by the committee to have disobeyed their express instructions not to use gunpowder and muskets as articles of barter and his services were dispensed with.[7]

Thus was the end of this great pioneer of Christian mission work on the Gold Coast, and N. Smith's verdict concerning his work is also worth quoting:

> With all his faults, Andreas Riis was a missionary pioneer of the first rank; without his faith and endurance the mission would not have been begun;

1 Smith, p. 36

2 Guineiske Journaler, Carstensen to Copenhagen, 14 September 1846. There is evidence in the Mission records to show that the missionaries sought permission from the Danish government to teach English for which 'there is a great desire to learn among the growing generation on the coast'. E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Widmann's Report on the Journey from Osu to Akropong, 1843

3 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*

4 *Ibid.*, Widmann's Report on Journey from Osu to Akropong, 1843

5 *Ibid.* 6 Akuffo, *Ahemfi Adesua*, p. 228 7 Smith, p. 41

without his energy, his planning and leadership the second venture would not have been established.[1]

Widmann, on the other hand, may have the credit for being the first to lay the foundation for the system of education of the present-day Presbyterian Church of Ghana. He set himself the task of studying the Twi language and on July 14 1844 he preached in Twi without an interpreter.[2] By 1845, Twi primers, printed in Basel, were available[3] to children in the Sunday school which had been opened at Akuropon in 1843.[4] A regular school was run side by side with the Sunday school. In 1845 there were 12 boys in the school which was under Widmann.[5] By 1847, the number of children in the school had grown steadily to 37 girls, 25 boys and 7 West Indians, and in 1848, the progress had made it possible to open a Teacher Training Institute for the training of teachers for the missionary as well as education work of the Society.[6]

The spiritual side of the Missionary work did not see much of a spectacular growth. Early in 1847, the Mission Magazine report said there was no convert yet.[7] Though 14 grown-ups had been receiving lessons for baptism since 1845, it was not until Christmas Day 1847 that the first four boys were baptised at Akuropon.[8] Outside Akuropon, also, little progress had been made. Before the end of the period (1850), only one mission station had been opened on the ridge, besides that of Akuropon – Aburi station was opened in 1847.[9] However, after the close of the period, progress seems to have been rapid. Stations were opened at Late in 1853 and Mamfe in 1859, and beyond the Akuapem ridge at Odumase Krobo in 1857, Kyebi, capital of Akyem Abuakwa in 1861 and Kukurantumi in 1862.[10] Prior to the opening up of these stations, however, visits had been organised from Akuropon to the districts near Akuapem. In February 1852, Widmann and another missionary, Mader, visited Suhyen, Kukurantumi and Kyebi in Akyem Abuakwa. The Rev Suss also, another missionary, paid a visit to Kyebi during the same period and recruited two children into the school at Akuropon.[11]

Besides education, perhaps, another contribution of the Basel Mission Society to the development of modern Ghana is in the economic field. Right from the beginning, the West Indian missionaries engaged themselves seriously in growing coffee, cocoyam, bananas and other fruit crops. In 1847 the Mission Magazine reported that much attention was paid to plantations and a number of coffee trees were planted,[12] and in 1848 another report says the 'Africans begin to

1 *Ibid.*, p. 42 2 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*

3 *Ibid.*, Widmann's Report, 1846 4 *Ibid.*, Riis's letter to Basel, 18 January 1844

5 *Ibid.*, Widmann's Report, 1846 6 *Ibid.*, Report from Akropong Station, 1847

7 *Ibid.*, Mission Magazine of 1847, General Report

8 *Ibid.*, Report from Akropong Station, 1847

9 *Ibid.*, Mission Magazine Report; Akuffo, pp. 227–8 10 Akuffo, pp. 227–8

11 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Visit of Widmann and Mader to Akyem, February 1852; Visit of the Rev Suss from Akropong to Akyem, February 1852

12 *Ibid.*, Mission Magazine of 1847

ask for seeds of coffee to plant'.[1] Oranges and mango were among the fruit trees planted by the missionaries; the mango seeds were brought from Jamaica and progress was also marked in this field. An attempt was made for a plantation of flax but was not successful.[2] In 1849 Widmann on leave in Europe happily reported that the mission station had a fine coffee plantation yielding 200 lbs of excellent coffee; large quantities of cocoyam were also being produced, and the West Indians were making large profits from groundnut oil.[3] In later years, cocoa was introduced by the Basel Mission to Akuropon. The question of the origins of cocoa in the Gold Coast has been controversial, but recent writers give credit for the introduction of the crop to the Basel Mission. In 1965 E. O. Ayisi wrote:

> Whatever way one chooses to look at the question of the introduction of cocoa, in the Gold Coast, the fact still remains that the Basel Mission should be given credit for its introduction, for if Tete Quarshie did bring it at all, the encouragement in the first place came from the missionaries.[4]

N. Smith was more explicit when he wrote in 1966:

> Although official recognition is given to Tetteh Quarshie as the introducer of cocoa to the Gold Coast the crop which became responsible for the major part of the wealth of the country and which brought about a social revolution, it is clear that it was first grown at Akuropon by the Basel Mission in 1858; over twenty years before Tetteh Quarshie came from Fernando Po with cocoa seeds, Johannes Hass, the first mission-agriculturalist, reported that cocoa beans which he had obtained from Suriman, had died. J. J. Lang received seeds from Auer in Cape Palmas and, in 1868, he stated that he had a small cocoa plantation in existence.[5]

The cocoa was tried on other stations and pods supplied to African Christians, particularly by the mission-agriculturalist A. Mohr, in Akyem.[6]

It is not only agriculture that engaged the attention of the missionaries in their attempt to diversify the economy of the African and to promote 'legitimate' trade, but also an industrial project for the training of artisans. The workshops were established outside Akuapem; but they were part of the programme of the Basel Mission with its headquarters at Akuropon, and it is known that most of the artisans in training at the workshops in Christiansborg were Akuapem men.[7] In 1849, it was reported that the missionary Mohr had trained some Akuropon people as masons and it was 'no longer necessary to rely on masons trained at the coast'.[8] Commander R. Murray Rumsey, R.N. remarked in 1882:

1 *Ibid.*, Widmann's Report submitted in Komtal, 1849 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.*

4 Ayisi, *The Basis of Political Authority of the Akuapem Tribes*, p. 316

5 Smith, pp. 60–1; the latter part of the quotation was cited by Smith from G. A. Wanner, *Die Basler Handelsgesellschaf 1859–1959*, Basel 1959, pp. 208–16.

6 Smith, p. 61

7 In 1858, workshops were erected at Christiansborg for the training of Africans at shoemaking, bookbinding, pottery, basketry, joinery, carpentry, blacksmithing and masonry. See Smith, p. 60.

8 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Widmann's Report submitted at Komtal, 1849

> Aquapim supplies workmen more or less skilled as carpenters and blacksmiths, some of these turn out very fairly good work though they are naturally very slow; in nearly all the large villages there is a forge to be seen, and at these the natives get their hoes and cutlasses repaired, besides such work as hooks, staples, hinges, etc., these men owe their instruction to the German missionaries.[1]

In retrospect, the work of the Basel Mission Society shows that their activities embraced all aspects of human development[2] – propagation of the Gospel and establishment of schools, agricultural development, training centres for apprentices, and the establishment of hospitals to cater for health needs of the people. In doing this, the missionaries unconsciously set the ball rolling for the great social and political upheaval of the Gold Coast. Their work shook the bases of traditional life.

One permanent and striking feature of any Akuapem town and most towns in Ghana today where there is a mission station is the existence of separate communities for the Christian and non-Christian people. Two reasons can be given for this development. In the first place, the early African Christians, certainly on the advice of the missionaries, left their old homes to build a new quarter away from the town in order to become free from interference in their religious observances. Secondly, the separation of the new convert had not been made without pressure, not only for the reason outlined above, but also because he became a social outcast among his people. There is no evidence of persecution of Christians in Akuapem; however, in conversation with his grandparents, the author is told that the early Christians were forced to leave their homes because they became subjected to all sorts of ridicule.[3]

The emergence of the Christian quarter became real after 1850. At Akuropon, however, the development started with the arrival of Riis in 1835, but it was not until the arrival of the West Indians that rapid progress was made. Widmann at the end of 1847 reported that a Christian settlement of 32 houses on the south side of the town had been built.[4] At Late, D. Asante,[5] one of the early Akuropon missionaries, reported in 1867 that Late was 'beginning to look like a christian community, with 26 houses, some of them not completed. The houses are bigger and the streets more regular than among the heathens'.[6]

No doubt this divorce from ancestral homes in those days led to better conditions of life – a good sanitary system in the homes and surroundings, acquisition

1 C.3687, Further Correspondence regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, August 1882, p. 27

2 For detailed reading of social and political effects of the work of the Basel Mission Society in Akuapem see Smith, pp. 86–107 and D. Brokensha, *Social Change at Larteh*, and Ayisi.

3 There were, however, occasional attacks from the fetish priests. For instance, in 1845 Widmann reported that fetish priests accused them that they 'built stone houses, killed monkeys, went to fetish place, hence fetish angry, there would be no rain'. *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Widmann's Diary, May 1845. But as N. Smith rightly said such attacks were sporadic. See Smith, p. 92.

4 *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Widmann's Report on the Journey from Osu to Akuropon.

5 See a brief note on David Asante below.

6 As quoted in D. Brokensha, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 19

of new knowledge and skills[1] – but it had its adverse effect on the African way of life. It led to further disruption of the traditional way of life of the Hill people – a development which is still in progress – and lack of knowledge of some good aspects of African culture.[2]

In the first place, the Guan traditional way of life had, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, witnessed a gradual breakdown in the face of Akan (Akwamu and Akyem Abuakwa) reorganisation. The ecclesiastical government of the Guan communities had, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, changed to government by constitutional chiefs fashioned on the pattern similar to the Akyem Abuakwa or Asante political system. Secondly, the civil crises in Akuapem and dynastic rivalry in Akuropon in particular had led to a weakness in the Akan system itself. Surely, these left the way clear for the Basel Missionary work to evolve a new system which promised peace and prosperity in Akuapem. Several of the early converts to Christianity came under the Mission's influence as a direct result of the political chaos. The case of David Asante, one of the first Africans to be ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana,[3] is of particular interest. He was the son of Owusu Akyem[4] (Okuapemhene Adum's cousin and heir) and the grandson of the Asante resident, Koranten. David Asante was 'adopted' by the missionaries after Owusu Akyem's death at Christiansborg. During his lifetime, Owusu Akyem himself had shown some interest in the work of the missionaries at Akuropon. Widmann reported several visits he paid to him, gifts of two sheep he presented to them on August 13, 1843, and remarked that he was 'a good man . . . and though he listens to the Gospel it is difficult for a man of his position to accept the word of God'.[5]

However, his son was to become 'the stalwart David Asante'[6] of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. He was one of the first four Africans to be baptised into Christianity by the Basel Missionaries on Christmas Day 1847,[7] and also one of the five pioneer students of the Theological Seminary (now the Akuropon Presbyterian Training College) in 1848.[8] In 1862 he returned from a visit to Basel where he had received further training in the Theological Seminary.[9]

As a member of the royal house at Akuropon, David Asante as well as his colleagues from Akuropon – Paul Keteku, Isaac Addo and Bekoe[10] – must have

1 A report in 1849 from the Basel Mission Periodicals stated for instance, that Mrs Mohr taught knitting and stitching to the girls on Wednesdays and Fridays and to the boys on Saturdays.

2 For instance, few well-educated Africans are able today to interpret the message carried on African drums. The author who comes from the royal house of Mamfe is not excluded.

3 Smith, p. 115n. In 1926 the Basel Mission Church became known as the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. See Smith, p. 161 referring to Synod at Abetifi, 1926, minute 26.

4 *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Widmann's Diary, 1843, see Chapter 3 for the brief history of the life of Owusu Akyem.

5 E.C.6(3), *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Widmann's Diary, entries 11, 13, 14 and 16 August 1843

6 Smith, p. 115

7 *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Mission Magazine of 1847, General Report, also extract from Widmann's Diary entry 25 December 1847

8 *Ibid.* 9 Smith, p. 115

10 These three Africans from Akuropon were the other three baptised into Christianity on Christmas Day, 1847.

exercised great influence on the existing government and politics in Akuropon, as well as other areas of Akuapem. David Asante, for instance, is known to have been rebuked by his mother for accompanying the Basel missionary J. A. Mader, and interpreting the latter's speech attacking indigenous religion; certainly David Asante shared the same view as Mader.[1]

After Adum's deportation in 1845 and the enstoolment of Kwadade I as Okuapemhene, early in 1846, there seems to have been peace in Akuropon and Akuapem; a situation to which the Basel Mission Society must have made no small contribution. Ritual murder had been a regular feature in the reign of Adum. There were reports of these in Widmann's diary in 1843 and on each occasion the missionaries intervened in an attempt, which was sometimes successful, to save the victims.[2] After 1845 there were no reports of this practice in Akuropon in the mission records.

By the end of the century the first heir to the Okuapemhene's stool to be trained at the Theological Seminary at Akuropon, ascended the stool. Frederick William Kwasi Akufo who had passed through a four year course at the Theological Seminary between 1879 and 1883 became the Okuapemhene in 1895.[3] One great effect of all these events on Akuapem today, is a substantial change in the government and politics of the Akuapem state. The fetish priests who had in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries remained as principal advisers of the stool occupants in the Guan towns were gradually eliminated. The Akuapem chiefs have, since the end of the nineteenth century, surrounded themselves with young educated men, usually Basel mission trained, as their principal advisers and secretaries.[4] This educated elite must have exercised a great influence on the policies of the chiefs. It is possible to say that the loss of power and prestige of the paramount chief in Akuapem today as compared with the Akwamuhene or the Okyenhene in Akyem Abuakwa is due more to the work of the Basel Mission Society than to any other single factor.

One of the immediately visible aspects of the new Christian quarter in the nineteenth century was its buildings; and this was one of the effects of the Basel missionary work. The nickname of Riis, *Osiadan*, (meaning the builder) is significant. As D. Brokensha rightly points out, in all Akuapem towns the style of architecture of many private houses as well as of churches and schools shows strong signs of the Basel Mission's influence. The first stone house was built by Riis at Akuropon in 1835;[5] in Late 1846, and by 1880 many stately stone houses in other Akuapem towns could be seen.[6]

The achievement of the Basel Mission Society was made despite a number of difficulties its missionaries faced in Akuapem. These difficulties were not confined to the strange climate which dissipated their numbers, and the foreign

1 *Basel Mission Periodicals*, Digest of Mission letters by H. Debrunner, E.C.1(36)

2 *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Widmann's Diary, entries 16 and 21 December 1843

3 Akuffo, 1950, *op. cit.*, pp. IX–X

4 F. W. Akuffo, was created the Registrar, Secretary and Interpreter of the Omanhene in 1892. He deputised for the Omanhene at various meetings with the British governors in Accra (see B. B. Akuffo, *op. cit.*, pp. IX–X).

5 *Basel Mission Periodicals*, extract from Riis's letters (1835–45)

6 D. Brokensha, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 18

tongue in which they had to express themselves before they could learn the local language; the most disturbing factor to the smooth progress of their work was the state of affairs in Akuropon. As already seen, the first year of the arrival of Riis witnessed one of the worst political crises in Akuropon. In 1836, Addo Dankwa was destooled and Akuropon became a scene of 'civil war'. Riis was engaged in the familiar missionary role of peace-maker. Though the situation was resolved by the enstoolment of Adum Tokori in 1837, seven years later, a dispute between Adum and Owusu Akyem resulted in another 'civil war' which ended in the death of Owusu. Adum was subsequently sent to Denmark and into exile. He was succeeded by Kwadade I (1845–66). It was in this reign that the missionary work gained the peace and tranquility necessary for the remarkable achievement which has become its legacy to the Akuapem State – the particularly high level of literacy.[1]

1 1960 Population Census of Ghana Special Report 'E' 1964, p. LXV, shows that while among the whole of the Twi population the level of Secondary and University education stood at 4·0%, that of Akuapem and Akwamu alone was 8·2%. By way of comparison figures for other areas are as follows: Ga 13·9%, Fante 6·7%, Ewe 3·6%

APPENDIX I

Oral traditions of Akuapem

The oral traditional accounts given in this Appendix were collected and synthesised by the author. As already mentioned in the Preface, most of these accounts (with the exception of the detailed account of wars in which Akuapem was involved – Section F) were interviews recorded on tape and the names of the informants are given at the end of this Appendix. It is not possible to break down the tape-recorded interviews as the accounts have been arranged according to topics for which a special questionnaire was prepared. It must be noted that the questionnaire on p. 154–5 was only used as a guide-line, and was not submitted as questions to informants. The method used was that the author interviewed a number of different persons on the same topic to enable cross-checks to be made on the information given by each person. However, where it is necessary to stress a source of information in the work, the name of the informant is given in the text. This method of interviewing several persons on the same topic is necessary to avoid one of the main defects of oral traditions – attempts by various persons and rulers to pervert certain parts of their traditions to show a glorious, and to cover an inglorious, past.

A. THE GUAN AND EARLY AKAN-SPEAKING SETTLERS

The Northern Guan-speaking community – The Kyerepon

The traditions of the Guan-speaking communities say that their ancestors were the earliest settlers in the Akuapem hills, which they found empty. Of the various Guan groups in the hills today, the Kyerepon say they came to the hills first, though Mamfe tradition says they were the first, for they had lived with the Kyerepon in the same area and left before them. Late tradition, however, supports the Kyerepon tradition, and says they found their Kyerepon neighbours already in their five towns – from south to north: Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirede. The inhabitants of these towns together called themselves the *Okerekponkpo*, a Guan expression meaning the 'Great Okere'[1] people. Mamfe tradition calls them *Kyerepon Amannuonum*,[2] meaning 'five brother towns of the Kyerepon'.

1 *Okere* is the Guan form of Kyerepon and it is still used by the people of the area today. It is their Twi neighbours who call them Kyerepon.

2 C. C. Reindorf interprets this to mean that the Kyerepon towns were once fifty in number and were reduced to five by the oppression of the Akwamu. There is no foundation for this statement. See also reference to J. C. Christaller's interpretation already cited in the introduction

The tradition of the *Okerekponkpo* has it that prior to their arrival in the hills, their ancestors had lived in a large single community in the country between where Tutu and Obosomase on the one side are today, and the Densu river to the west. They called this settlement *Abotoase*. They left this area because of quarrels with their neighbours, the ancesters of the present-day Mamfe, whose tradition also traces their movement from this place to the hills. The *Okerekponkpo* did not move *en masse*, they became divided into the various groups which later built the five different Kyerepon towns in the hills. They did not move into the hills straight away from Abotoase; they all sojourned in parts of modern Akyem Abuakwa district. The Abiriw and the Apirede people who were together until their arrival on the ridge settled for some time at *Ogyadam* (Gyadam) and *Agyempremso* (where modern Akyem Tafo is) and through *Breku Akatawia* (near modern Begoro) and thence to the hills, where they settled first on the slopes at *Kwaabo*, a place near present-day Awukugua. Here the Apirede people separated and laid the foundation of modern Apirede under their leader, Obonu Ayim. The Abiriw, under Aku Nankaa, continued further south to where the present site is.

Otutu Bagyiri IV, the present Abiriwhene, said the early arrival of his ancestors to the hills is made evident by the fact that they had a greater portion of the land where the Akyem immigrants of Akuropon are living now. The appellation of the occupant of the Abiriw stool to this day is a memory of that, he said:

Osekere Buruku Bagyire!
Osekere Buruku Bagyire!
A amansan nim no!

literally meaning, 'Osekere Buruku Bagyire who is well-known.'

The Abiriw people brought along with them their god, Bosompra, who according to their tradition guided them in the selection of a suitable place, that is, a well-watered area.

Awukugua tradition on the other hand does not claim to be the first of the *Okerekponkpo* to arrive on the ridge. It does claim, however, that Awukugua was the principal town of the *Okerekponkpo* on the ridge. It was, and is still, called *Okereso* (meaning 'head town of Okere') by the Kyerepon people. The ancestors of present-day Awukugua had followed closely the steps of the Apirede and the Abiriw people through Akyem Abuakwa district. The tradition says from Abotoase they settled at Oseem[1] from where they turned south-eastwards towards Akuapem. They broke the journey at Nkurakan, now a small village on the Adukrom to Koforidua motor road. At Nkurakan the Dawu people came upon them. They had also sojourned in Abuakwa. The Awukugua people moved to a place called *Borimfoano* as a result of the coming of the Dawu people and thence to the present-day site of Awukugua. *Borimfoano* is known to have been situated on the western slopes of the hill between present-day Adukrom and Awukugua.

1 It can easily be understood why Tafo and Oseem are those particularly connected with the celebration of the Ohum festival in Akyem Abuakwa today. The Kyerepon still regard the inhabitants of these towns as 'brothers'. The Okyenhene, Nana Ofori Ata II, told the author at Kyebi (Kibi) that the Ohum festival in Abuakwa is connected with a fetish shrine, Ogyemprem, in Akyem Tafo (Old Tafo). It is the Tafohene who begins the celebration of the festival, and he is followed by the chiefs of Oseem, Kukurantumi and the Okyenhene himself.

The settlement there was abandoned because of its hilly and steep sided position, as a result of which carriers of pots of palm oil easily fell and broke their pots. Hence it was called *Borimfoano*, a Guan expression broken up and translated thus:

bori = to break
mfo = oil
ano = point

literally meaning, 'point of breaking oil'.

Under their leader called Awuku, their new settlement after Borimfoano was called *Awukugua* (Awuku's market) by the other Guan-speaking people because Awuku organised this new place into a prosperous market centre which was visited by a large number of people in the hills.

The people of Dawu could not stay at Nkurakan for long. They soon followed the Awukugua people to the hills and built a settlement at the present site of Dawu between Okereso (Awukugua) and Abiriw.

The ancestors of Adukrom had been mainly drawn from the rest of the *Okerekponkpo* towns on their arrival in the hills. It is believed to have been founded as a small village by one Boam, a Kyerepon Guan, though it is not known which of the Okerekponkpo towns he came from. He does not seem to have been very important for soon someone else's name became synonymous with the village. An Akyem[1] immigrant called Adu settled in Boam's village. Very soon, because of his amiable character, not only was his name given to the village, *Adu-krom* or *Adu-man*[2] (Adu's town) but he also became its ruler.

Another version of Kyerepon tradition connected with Adukrom says that in course of time the principal position occupied by Okereso (Awukugua) among the *Okerekponkpo* (the Kyerepon) passed to Adukrom through marriage contract, the details of which are not known with certainty. The senior position of Okereso is still evident among the *Okerekponkpo* to this day. For a newly-chosen Nifahene, that is, the chief of Adukrom, must reside, according to custom, in Okereso for a number of days before he is formally enstooled as the Nifahene of the Akuapem State.

There are two remaining towns of the Kyerepon Guan community – Abonse and Aseseeso – whose traditions differ from the rest. They are not recognised as belonging to the *Okerekponkpo* group. Abonse, the most easterly town, has two versions of tradition. Kyerepon tradition says that it was founded by an Awukugua man as a hunting cottage. The settlement was developed by settlers from other Okerekponkpo towns. Abonse tradition, however, says they had been there before the Okerekponkpo, and this is supported by Mamfe tradition which says that when their ancestors came to the hills from the valley where they had lived together with the Okerekponkpo, the Abonse were the only people they found in the hills. Abonse remained a relatively small isolated town, a village by European standards, until 1869 when, according to Akwamu tradition, it received some refugees from Anum and Krobo which were then at war with Akwamu and their Asante allies.

Some time after the war, some of the refugees returned to their home towns,

1 It is not known to which of the Akyem states – Abuakwa, Kotoku or Bosome – he belonged.

2 In fact, Adukrom appeared on Danish maps as Aduma or Aduman.

but those who remained left Abonse and founded Aseseeso, which now lies on the motor road between Adukrom and Somanya. Abonse is off this main road and it is linked to it by a minor road at Aseseeso.

The Eastern Guan community – the Late People

Though ethnically and linguistically related to the Kyerepon Guan, the Late Guan (or *Late* as they call themselves or *Date* as their Twi neighbours call them) have a different tradition. Of the twin Late towns in the hills today, the tradition shows that the Kubease section until recently occupied a dominant position.

The Late-Kubease tradition says their ancestors had migrated from Benin city in the Mid-west region of modern Nigeria. They had travelled along the coast and settled at *Afiako*, a place which was on the coast of modern Togo. Not much is remembered of the movement from *Afiako* to the ridge, where the Kubease migrants made their first settlement at *Amamfro*.[1] The tradition of Ahenease, on the other hand, can only trace their ancestors from the coast between Tema and Labadi. They had moved inland and settled at the eastern foot of the Akuapem hills, a place they called *Mantim*, in a number of small settlements in the area where Ayikuma and other nearby Shai towns are today. These settlements were thirty in all; hence their Kubease neighbours called them *Akponkpoode ese* (meaning 'the collected group') while their Twi neighbours, who had settled in the southern section of the hills, called them Late Amannuasa (Late 'thirty towns').

The two Late communities – the Kubease at *Amanfro* and the Ahenease at *Mantim* – lived in an atmosphere of constant feud. The main cause was that the *Otutu* god of the Kubease used to take the children for its annual sacrifices from the Ahenease, who for their fear of the fetish remained in a subordinate position to Kubease. This state of affairs did not benefit either, for it rendered them weak in their struggles against their northern neighbours – Mamfe and Abotakyi – and more important against the rising power of the Akwamu who were expanding their power over the hills from Nyanaoase.

One Kubease ruler called *Otutu Ete*, who was also a priest of the *Otutu* shrine, advised the Ahenease people to join the Kubease in the building of a single settlement. It was after much persuasion that an agreement was reached. The Ahenease people left *Mantim* for the top of the hill and built the present-day Ahenease, and the Kubease people also left *Amanfro* and founded the present site of Kubease.[2] The two towns were ruled by the fetish priests of the *Otutu* god of Kubease. Those remembered are *Ofori Bediako* and *Anini Kotia*. The Ahenease people at the time of the agreement were led by Gyadu Nkansa, who is believed to have died when the Akyem Abuakwa warlords came to the hills.

Kubease tradition, supported by that of Ahenease, says that this senior position occupied by the rulers of Kubease passed to Ahenease through marriage contract. One Kubease ruler, *Brafo Asiedu*, had children by marriages to both Ahenease and Kubease. In his old age, he was supposed to have received scant attention from his children of Kubease connection. Thus before his death he gave all his wealth and stool[3] to his son from Ahenease. *Asiedu* is the name of the

1 The ruins of this place can still be found near the motor road between Mamfe and the twin towns of Late.

2 It is the Presbyterian Mission Quarter, founded in 1853 which has bridged the two towns. A patch of wooded land had remained between them until this date.

3 It seems the Late group, like Abiriw, had the system stressed by Nana Otutu Bagyire IV of Abiriw, that the fetish priests possessed stools as well, though not of the Akan type.

beneficiary of the property, and he became ruler of Ahenease with the stool name *Asiedu Kese* (that is, Asiedu 'the Great'). Not only did *Asiedu Kese* become the senior ruler of the two towns, but his rule also coincided with the coming of the Abuakwa overlords and with the setting up of the Akuapem State, which was a sequel to their arrival, he became the first Benkumhene. The third successor to Asiedu Brafo as Kubeasehene, called Mante, made a new and small stool for himself; hence he was called *Mante Ebiebi*.[1]

The South Guan and Twi speaking communities of Mamfe, Aburi, Atweasin, Berekuso and Ahwerease[2]

(a) Mamfe tradition

One version of the tradition of Mamfe, a small town situated at the junction of Koforidua-Accra and Akuropon-Accra motor roads, says that their ancestors were the earliest Guan-speaking people to settle in the hills; that they left their Kyerepon neighbours at Abotoase and that their rulers had sway over the other Guan communities, an authority which remained unbroken until the coming of the Akwamu.

Their claim of Guan origin and close affinity to the Okerekponkpo is supported by the Kyerepon tradition that the ancestors of Mamfe and Kyerepon had lived in the same area. The settlement of the early Mamfe people was called *Damurukuso*, on the bank of a small stream called Damuruku, still to be found in the valley west of Obosomase and Tutu. This was near the Okerekponkpo settlement of Abotoase. The Mamfe ancestors had left as a result of quarrels with their neighbours and shortage of water in the area. Two of their leaders, Manteaw Panyin and Kwamena Buroni, looked around the country nearby, whenever they went on hunting expeditions, for a well-watered place. Up the hill and a little north of where modern Mamfe is situated, they found a stream which they called *Kwaadu* (it is still there). Here these leaders brought their people and along with them their fetish or god *Topre* whose house can be found in the town today. Later they moved a little south to where the present site of the town is.

Another version of the tradition of Mamfe confirms the movement from Damurukuso; but says that the leaders of the ancestors of the people were five.

1 *Ebiebi* is a Late Guan expression made up of two words: *ebie* meaning stool; and *bi* meaning small or little.

2 The author was unable to obtain any authentic or trustworthy information on the traditions of the rest of the towns in this section of the hills – Abotakyi, Mampon, Tutu and Obosomase.

What information he obtained from Mampon is fragmentary, and not worth recording. The only conclusion is that the people of Mampon today are mixed; their ancestors may have been refugees from Abotakyi at the end of the civil war (see below), and of Shai or Ga descent. In fact the Late-Kubeasehene, Nana Asiedu Agyemfra V, told the author that the ancestors of Mampon were Shai people who ran away to seek protection in the hills, hence they were called *Akpere*, a name which the Kyerepon and the Late still use, and which is a Guan word meaning 'those given asylum'. The present Mamponhene, Nana Otu Anobaa Sasraku II, on the other hand, says their ancestors had come from Asante Mampon. This may not be acceptable. There is a small Shai village called Mankpon today, and if the Kubeasehene version is acceptable, one can strongly suspect a link between the Shai town Mankpon and the Akuapem hill town, Mampon. C. C. Reindorf and Shai traditions confirm this.

Of Abotakyi which is now a site of three houses, all that is known today is that it was once a very large town of about 70 streets, and was destroyed as a result of a 'civil war' and the remainder razed to the ground by Ansa Sasraku, an Akwamuhene.

No one was able to give the author any information on Tutu. The Obosomasehene and elders categorically refused to say anything at all about the origin of his ancestors. Concerning the shrine of Kyenku, the chief said 'no one dare transmit any story of its origin, not even his late father'.

They were Kwadwo Toku of Adanse, Abew or Abey of Grand Popo, Akote from Gyaman, Agyako from Wasa and Asamoa from Sehwi. These men became the heads of the five lineage wards into which the town is divided today: Awurade Kese – the royal house; Awurade Ketewa, Enyiresi, Pone and Akyeremade.

Abey from Popo is said to have come to live among the early Guan community at Damurukuso in order to organise the lucrative palm oil trade that went on between the Guan communities at Damurukuso and Abotoase and the coastal towns of Osu, Teshi, Labadi, Ada and as far as Popo, which may be modern Prampram, by the Hill people. This version continues to say that Abey and his followers, some of whom came from the coastal towns of Accra, made permanent their stay among the early Guan speaking people of Mamfe, intermarried and adopted their way of life. Their descendants are still at Mamfe today and such names as Akogyiram and Tete are proof of the coastal elements among the Guan speaking community.

Akote is said to have been a trader from Gyaman in the north-western part of modern Ghana. He brought pieces of cloth from *Sarem* (Northern Ghana), and exchanged them for salt from the coast and palm oil from the Akuapem area.

Kwadwo Toku from Adanse, with his knowledge of the Akan system of rule, became the first ruler of Mamfe, though he was a priest as well, in charge of the Topre shrine.

(b) Aburi, Atweasin, Berekuso and Ahwerease

The present-day inhabitants of these towns in the Akuapem state are predominantly of Akwamu origin. The early settlers, however, had been Guan-speaking according to the traditions of these places.

Modern *Aburi* is composed of three sections which are not as easily distinguished as are those of Late-Ahenease and Late-Kubease. The original Aburi, which the traditionalists call *Aburi Proper* or *Amanfro*,[1] had been peopled by Guan-speaking inhabitants who moved up the hill from *Nkunkren*, now a small village on the Aburi-Nsawam motor road. The early people of the second section called *Atweasin* had been Akwamu immigrants from Kubesin, which was either part of, or very near, Nyanaoase, the centre of Akwamu power. Their movement to Atweasin had been precipitated by quarrels with an Akwamuhene, called Ansa Sasraku. After the fall of Akwamu power west of the Volta, many years after this early movement, more people of Akwamu origin who chose not to follow the Akwamu refugees who set up the new Akwamu state east of the Volta, moved into Aburi and settled at the third section called *Anomako*, on the left side of the Aburi-Accra motor road. It is these successive movements of people of Akwamu origin into Aburi which led to its predominant Twi-speaking population.[2]

Some of the last immigrants of Akwamu origin who came to Aburi settled at *Berekuso* which was already peopled by a small number of people of Guan

1 *Amanfro*, a Twi word, means 'a new state', and this section of Aburi includes the area where the Presbyterian Mission Station and the Botanical Gardens are today.

2 This is the basis for the linguistic change among the southern section of the Guan community in modern Akuapem (see below). The Aburi Guan community were no doubt the first to go through the process. The spoken form of Aburi and Ahwerease Twi is peculiar in the hills: an Akuapem can easily recognise a speaker as coming from either Aburi or Ahwerease. In Mamfe also, the illiterate Twi speakers have quite a different pronunciation and intonation from those who have received formal education at school.

descent. The complex mixture of the Berekuso today is explained by their close connection and history of trade contacts with the Ga of Accra.

Most inhabitants of *Ahwerease* trace their origin from Akwamu. Their tradition has it that their ancestors had come from a place called *Ampomoa*, near the Akwamu capital of Nyanaoase. A queen-mother from Ampomoa came into the hills and built a small village at the site where Ahwerease is today. She was soon followed by a large number of her people from *Ampomoa* and the settlement developed into modern Ahwerease.

The villages around Aburi

The number of small villages near Aburi and which are now recognised as within the Akuapem state on the Aburi-Accra and Aburi-Nsawam motor roads owe their origin from Aburi, and are recent, not earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century.

Nsakye, the largest and most important of them was built by an Aburihene, called Osae, for his son. Osae, who was the third occupant of the *Abrade* stool of Aburi, ruled in the reign of the Okuapemhene, Obuobi Atiemo. His son, called Akotua, is believed to have sworn the great oath of the Asante recklessly, and at a time when Akuapem was under the Asante rule. Osae became disturbed by this uncontrolled behaviour of his son, for he had to pay the fee involved in the swearing of an Asante oath. The best way to check this drain on his pocket was to remove his son from Aburi. He bought a gun for him, a custom which was common until recently when a father would like a son who had come of age to be on his own, and asked him to go into the bush and make hunting his career.

Akotua left Aburi and first built a small cottage at a place called *Konkonnuru* in the country west of Aburi. He became a good hunter and soon the cottage grew into a large village, for he always had plenty of meat to offer for sale. His special game was the elephant. He left *Konkonnuru* for an area where a large colony of elephants could be found, on the banks of a small stream called *Nsakye*. Here he built a new village which grew to be called *Nsakye*, now on the Aburi-Nsawam motor road. Nsakye became a camp for an Akuapem army which was returning from Fante during the rebellion of Kwao Saforo Twe against the Asante power.

Gyankama, on the Aburi-Accra motor road, had been founded by inhabitants from Atweasin. *Agyamante*, on the Aburi-Berekuso motor road, was founded by Osae Ntifo, Aburihene, who used it as his village. It has remained a village of the occupants of the Abrade stool of Aburi.

B. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GUAN COMMUNITIES

Economic activities

(a) Farming was and is the predominant occupation of the Guan-speaking communities in the Akuapem hills. They used simple tools, hoes and cutlasses made by local blacksmiths which were far less efficient than those used by the present-day Akuapem people. The main crops cultivated were maize, yams and plantains. These constituted their main diet, supplemented usually with bush meat and fish from the streams or the coast, and wild fruits. According to tradition, the system of farming as practised today in the hills has changed very little from that of the early settlers. This is the well-known system of shifting cultivation or bush fallow.

(b) Hunting was the main occupation of the men while farming was usually left for the women and the children. Hunting was an important occupation of the earliest Akan- and Guan-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, and a description of it in some detail may be of some interest in this Appendix.

A hunter among the early Akan- or Guan-speaking communities was more than a mere producer of meat. He was usually an accredited leader and founder of a new settlement. The Twi word for hunter, *Obommofo*, means literally 'one who creates or starts something new'. Hunting was, therefore, a full-time career which needed some amount of professional training and experience.

A would-be hunter began his training as the apprentice, for many years, of an experienced hunter, usually one who was well known for having killed the big animals, particularly the elephant. Though the early hunters used simple and primitive weapons such as spears, bows and arrows and cutlasses, they are believed to have been able to hunt elephants.

The chief hunter and his apprentices usually left the main towns or villages and made new settlements in the bush. Their success was evident in the growth of their new settlements, for they were centres for a constant supply of meat where passers-by made their purchases. If they succeeded they persuaded their relatives to leave the main town or village for the new settlement. The chief hunter in this way became a ruler of the new settlement. Settlements, started in this way by other hunters in the area, had to be subdued by force and their people brought under the rule of the victorious one.

Thus the chief hunter must not only be courageous, but prudent and diplomatic, and above all he must possess a high sense of leadership. The Akan and Guan legends are full of instances of the success of hunters in laying the foundation of some of the towns in present-day Ghana. Kumasi, for instance, is believed to have been founded by a hunter from Yendi as a market centre for the sale of his elephant meat. In the Akuapem hills, the foundation of Aburi is said to have been laid by a hunter called *Opare Petepirebi*, and that of Adukrom by Adumangoru (called Adu for short) also a hunter. *Manteaw Panyin* who is credited with the foundation of Mamfe went on a hunting expedition and found the well-watered place suitable for a new settlement.

According to Akan traditions, this is the reason why no single clan can claim to be a ruling class among the Akan. Thus people of the Asona clan may be the rulers of one town or state, while in another the Aduana clan will provide the stool occupants.

(c) Trade among the early settlers in the Akuapem mountains was mainly local; however, there may be some truth in the tradition that wide trade contacts with distant neighbours were also maintained. Awukugua was known to have been a large market where not only the Kyerepon Guan bought and sold, but also the Late and the southern Guan communities. *Akonno*, where Ayikuma is today, was reputed to have been a great centre for trade among the Late-Ahenease communities before they moved to their present site in the hills.

The commercial link with the outside had been the exchange of palm oil and food products from the hills for the much-needed salt and fish from the coastal towns such as Labadi, Teshi, Osu and Ada.

Trade was mainly by barter – the exchange of the products of the hills for the articles from the coast. It was not until the coming of the European trading

companies at Accra that some form of monetary system, using cowrie shells, was adopted.

The Krobo and the Shai people were also highly involved in trade with the Akuapem hills. They supplied the hills with the clay pots for the carrying of the palm oil and in turn obtained food stuffs from the Akuapem hills. When the European trading nations established themselves along the eastern coast, gunpowder, guns, iron and cotton goods were bought by the hill people who sold to the Europeans maize which they used for provisioning the slave-ships.

Social life

(a) Clothing

The early Guan people are said to have used *obofo* as clothing. This was made from the bark of a certain tree which was beaten to provide a soft material suitable for clothing. One version of the tradition says this was the material used for clothing by the Hill people because they could not afford the European imported cloth available by the seventeenth century until the reign of *Fianko*, the second occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool (in the 1730s and 40s). He is said to have bought pieces of European cloth from the coast at Accra and distributed them among the principal men of the Kyerepon.

Fianko is also said to have bought a number of wooden carved stools from Kukurantumi in Akyem Abuakwa for the Kyerepon who until then sat on stones. Hence he was called *Fianko Betuafo* (*Betuafo* in Twi literally means 'an adviser').

(b) Language

The present day Kyerepon and the Late Guan still use the language of their ancestors, though there are many Twi words in the modern Guan dialects, and at school and outside their home towns they speak Twi more than the Guan language.

The ancestors of the people in the southern section of the Akuapem hills are believed to have spoken some form of Guan dialect resembling that spoken by their neighbours today. As already mentioned above, the present-day inhabitants of Mamfe, Abotakyi, Tutu, Obosomase in particular, and to some extent those of Mampon, Ahwerease, Aburi and Berekuso, believe that their ancestors were Guan-speaking. Mamfe tradition says that to this day the fetish priest in charge of the Topre shrine uses a form of Guan dialect during the performance of his duties in the shrine.

Two reasons are given by the traditionalists for the linguistic change that has taken place among these southern hill people. Firstly, in Berekuso, Aburi and Ahwerease there was a large influx of Akwamu (who were and are Twi speaking) immigrants after the destruction of their empire; and their presence led to a rapid linguistic change. It is true that there were Akwamu settlers in the other towns – Mamfe, Tutu, and Abotakyi – but these most southerly towns, Aburi and Ahwerease, were the scene of greater infiltration of the Akwamu immigrants.

Secondly, Akwamu tradition says that during the period of their suzerainty over the Akuapem hills, the Akwamuhene forced the Guan to learn Twi. When a Guan had a case to answer in the Akwamuhene's court, he was kept at the court and forced to learn Twi which he would use for his defence.

The Akwamuhene, Nana Kwafo Akoto II, emphasised in an interview with the author that the Akwamu were far more responsible for the linguistic change in the Akuapem hills today. The Akyem immigrants, he said, were too small in

number to effect any influence and instead they abandoned the Akyem dialect of the Twi language and the result is what the Basel missionary termed *Akuapem Twi*, which they reduced to writing in the early part of the nineteenth century.

(c) System of inheritance

Besides language and festivals (to be described below) the system of inheritance is one of the distinct characteristics of the Guan-speaking communities. The system of inheritance among the Guan was and still is patrilineal. However, this is not as simple as it sounds.

The system of patrilineal inheritance among the Guan communities may be described as (i) direct and (ii) indirect. The first is the direct transfer of property to the eldest son of a deceased father. Two conditions are, however, attached to this: the son inherits the deceased father's property directly (a) when his father was the real owner or the one who acquired the property, and (b) when the son is of age, which may be interpreted not only as how old he was, but what sense of responsibility he possessed, and more important, what service he rendered to his father when he was alive. If an eldest son did not serve his father when he was alive, he would be disinherited and the succession pass on to the next son who might have rendered good service.

If a son who has inherited his father's property has brothers, he is expected to manage the property for the equal benefit of all his brothers. Daughters are expected to inherit the property of their mothers and are in most cases excluded from the property of the father. If none of the sons of the deceased father is of age, a regent, usually a brother of the deceased or a relative, is given charge of the property until such a time as the sons are able to take over. In such a situation, when handing over he must render a thorough account of income and expenses; he is not expected to use the proceeds of the property for acquiring property of his own, though he may enjoy usufruct rights.

The second or the indirect type of patrilineal inheritance occurs when the property used by a deceased father was not acquired by him; that is, when he had inherited it from his father. In this case the property must be taken over by the next brother of the deceased. The sons have no direct right of taking over such property which is termed 'family property'. Here the Guan proverb which says 'if all the fathers are not dead, sons have no right of inheritance' applies. In more recent times after all the brothers have died, the 'family property' is shared among their sons.

The introduction of the Akan system of chieftaincy among the Guan-speaking communities, has not altered this system of inheritance. Chieftaincy among the Guan is adapted, and succession to the stool is patrilineal. The choice of a successor, however, follows the complicated system of the Akan whereby he is selected from among several candidates who are eligible through their fathers and not through their uncles as among the Akan.

(d) Political Organisation

The various informants whom the author interviewed were unanimous in expressing the opinion that the early Guan communities in the hills were ruled by fetish priests; that the present political system of separation of functions between fetish priests in charge of the shrines and occupants of stools was the result of the introduction of the Akan system of chieftaincy by the Akwamu and Akyem Abuakwa immigrants; and that each town had and owed allegiance to one principal shrine besides those of the lineage wards.

The principal fetish shrines in the hills during the Guan period were:

Akwagyansam of Berekuso
Kyenku of Obosomase
Damte of Mampon
Huhunya of Abotakyi
Topre of Mamfe
Otutu of Late-Kubease[1]
Konkon of Late-Ahenease
Bosompra of Abiriw
Kofionisumanka of Dawu
Otutu of Awukugua
Otutu of Adukrom

The inhabitants of each town acknowledged and recognised the supreme influence of its fetish over life and death. Each year, during the annual yam festival, called *Ohum*, *Eba* (Abiriw) or *Bba* (Late), the priests performed the rites of offering sacrifices of thanks to the gods for preservation of the towns and their inhabitants during the past year, and prayed for direction and protection for the coming year. They also played a leading role in times of emergency as well; for instance, when there was a declaration of war by a neighbouring town, a feature which the traditionalists say was common, direction of the gods was sought and men 'ate fetish', that is, they swore an oath officiated over by the priests, to fight to the end while they received the priest's promised protection and success. On the other hand, if an ill omen was portended, sacrifices would be made to remove it, or the fetish priests would advise the abandonment of the project. Normally, the chief priest did not go to war himself and leadership was provided by his assistants.

Individuals sought the same protection or guidance from the shrines of their lineage ward or from the principal shrine of the town if the matter was of a serious nature.

It was the influence and power of the fetish priests in each of the towns that led to the lack of unity among the early hill communities, which the Akwamu tradition stresses was the main reason why they were so easily brought within the Akwamu empire. Like the ancient Greek city states, the hill towns were independent of one another and could make war against one another. Kubease tradition says the Kubease people fought frequently against the Awukugua people. Again like the ancient Greeks there were attempts at confederation, such as Sparta and Athens made; some of the hill towns tried to build around them unions of towns. The *Okerekponkpo* were believed to have recognised Awukugua (*Okereso*) as their principal town.[2] Kubease tradition, already cited, says that a Kubease leader succeeded in persuading and organising the Ahenease people and those of Kubease into one centre.

Among the southern Guan, however, the tradition says there was no such attempt to bring them together. On the contrary, the tradition says Mamfe people helped the Awukugua and the Late-Kubease alternately in their quarrels. Their duplicity was discovered and there was much mistrust towards them. Some individuals in Mamfe are said to have been the first to possess European guns and gunpowder in the hills, and thus their assistance was sought by their neighbours, whenever there was fighting among them. One such person

1 Akonodi, perhaps the most powerful fetish shrine in the hills today, emerged only in the nineteenth century.

2 Nana Otutu Bagyire IV, Ohene of Abiriw, does not accept this version of the Kyerepon tradition which claims that Awukugua was the principal town of the *Okerekponkpo*. He said the Kyerepon or the *Okerekponkpo* had never come into such a union.

at Mamfe was Okyeame Aworoben who is said to have had seven guns, and with his followers, he used them to cause much havoc among the Kyerepon.

The position exercised by such towns as Awukugua and Late-Kubease as leaders of confederated towns usually depended on the status and the build-up of the fetish shrines in those towns. The Abiriwhene, Otutu Bagyire IV, calls these powerful shrines 'celebrities', and gave a list of such 'celebrities' in the hills during the Guan and the Akwamu period.

The first was the Otutu shrine of Awukugua in the days of its famous priest, Okomfo Anokye, who left the Akuapem hills for Asante, and with Osei Tutu became the founder of the Asante union. The second was Bosompra of Abiriw; another Topre of Mamfe, and above all Kyenku of Obsomase who is known to have been recognised by all the Hill people, and before whose shrine an agreement was reached to invite warlords from Akyem Abuakwa. More important, at the end of the war it was the priest of Kyenku who officiated over the oath of allegiance to the Abuakwa warlords as rulers of a new centralised state in the hills.

Such recognition of leadership among the fetish priests in the hills, Okyeame Akufo Boafo, one of the author's informants said, was usually accorded by all the fetish priests who met occasionally and chose one of themselves as their leader.

(e) Festivals

The fetish priests and the shrines, of which they were in charge, played an important role in the celebration of festivals among the hill communities. The main festival known to the Guan communities was the Ohum, variously called Eba (Abiriw) or Bba (Late), which is still celebrated. It is a yam festival like the Odwira of the Akan people, but with a fundamental difference in its significance. The Ohum is connected with the worship of the god (the fetish) and it is an important occasion for the fetish priest for the purification of the people. The Guan-speaking people worshipped their fetishes and not stools and ancestors as the Akan. They believe that it was these fetishes which had preserved them throughout the year. Thus the fetishes had to eat their most important farm produce – the yam – first, before the people were allowed to eat it.

The significance of the Guan festival is well illustrated in the words of the song for the occasion sung by women holding sticks (usually the pounding sticks for *fufu*, an important food for many houses in Ghana) beating the streets up and down at dawn:

Yeye abosom mma
Wonka yen
Yeye abosom mma
Wonka yen

meaning literally, 'We are children of the fetishes, no one should touch us!'

In addition to these words, they use the name of the fetish in the particular town and sing in these words

Obosom Kyenku ee!
Wo na wobekum yen nyarewa yi ama yen
Awura ba ee!
Wo nti!

meaning, 'Fetish Kyenku, you will be able to cure our diseases; we are grateful'.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Ohum festival the priest enters the inner section of the shrine where he calls upon the god and makes the annual sacrifice. This section is entered once a year, when the annual festival is being celebrated.

Though the people of the individual towns in the hills did and do still celebrate this annual festival independently and on different days in the year, usually between the end of August and December, it was, in the Guan period, an occasion for contact between the various towns. The traditionalists say the people of one town went and joined in the celebration of the other and this visit was returned by the first town when the other town celebrated its Ohum. This practice goes on today among the Guan communities. However, on the occasion of the Odwira festival at Akuropon by the Okuapemhene, all the various wing chiefs and the chiefs of the subordinate towns are expected to attend the durbar and pay homage to the occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool. (See below for further details on the Odwira festival.)

C. THE AKWAMU AND THE HILL COMMUNITIES

Both Akuapem and Akwamu traditions assert that the hill country was brought under Akwamu suzerainty not by conquest but that the hill communities tacitly accepted Akwamu rule through fear. Further, this was achieved because there was no unity among the Guan communities; 'each town had its ruler and had nothing to do with the other town' say the traditions. 'If an enemy attacked one town, the people of the other town refused any help requested saying "We have nothing to do with you".'

Akwamu tradition says the Akwamu state began with its first capital built at Asare-man-kese (which is now called Asamankese) after the founder of the dynasty, Otumfo Asare, who had led them from Heman where they had lived under the domination of Denkyira. Asare was succeeded on his death by Ansa Sasruka I whose successor, Akotia, removed the capital from Asamankese to Nyanaoase. With the removal of the capital to Nyanaoase, the Akwamu came into close contact with the Ga at Accra in the south, the Guan communities in the hills on the east, and the Akyem in the north. It was in the reign of Akotia's successor, called Ansa Sasraku, that the Akwamu began to stretch their power over the Hill people, the Obutu and the Ga at the coast of Accra. The Accra were beaten in a battle and brought under the Akwamu rule, but the Hill people were not; rather they tacitly accepted Ansa Sasraku's rule, for 'he was much feared even by his own people'.

The Akwamuhene called the Hill people Nkoa-apem (thousand subjects). The Nkoa-apem were, at the time of Ansa Sasraku's rule, settled in the following hill towns (from south to north): Berekuso, Atweasin, Aburi, Ahwerease, Obosomase, Tutu, Mampon, Abotakyi, Mamfe, Abiriw, Odawu (Dawu), Awukugua, Adukrom, Apirede, Abonse and Date (Late). Akwamu tradition says most of these people were ruled at a later stage by Ofei Kwasi Agyeman who had his seat at Adenya. Akuapem traditions, however, say Ofei Kwasi was a chief of Gyakiti.

The traditions do not clarify the relations between the Nkoa-apem and their masters, the Akwamu. The Nkoa-apem did not pay any specific tribute to the Akwamu, as they were to do to the Asante many years later. On the other hand,

the Akwamu did not allow the Nkoa-apem to live in peace; they suffered from a cruel and ruthless Akwamu rule. There are a number of instances in Akuapem traditions showing Akwamu misrule. One narrative says: 'One day Ansa Sasraku, the Akwamuhene, ordered all the Nkoa-apem to cut down bush, and they did as he ordered. But instead of thanking them, he gave them an *aseredowa* (one of the smallest birds in West Africa) and pepper. These were cooked and he asked the Nkoa-apem to eat. Naturally the Nkoa-apem refused to eat; Ansa Sasraku became angry, bound some of them and killed them, some he sold into slavery; the women were brought to him and he used them as his slaves'. There is another example, the story connected with the destruction of Abotakyi. The Abotakyi 'civil war' began as a quarrel between two neighbours. One had returned from his farm and roasted a yam in the fire which he was going to eat. A goat belonging to the other found and ate the yam. The hungry farmer killed the goat. The result was a quarrel between the two men. This soon developed into a family feud on a wide scale, degenerating into 'civil war' affecting the whole of Abotakyi. The narrative continues that when Ansa Sasraku heard this he was pleased, as the hostility reduced the power of the Nkoa-apem. He equipped an army which he sent to raze what was left of Abotakyi to the ground.

There are a number of stories in Akuapem traditions showing the abject cruelty of the Akwamuhene not only to men and women but also to children. Besides the Akwamuhene's cruel acts, there were atrocities committed by Akwamu princes. Two of these princes, Agyare and Abansramadu, were known to be notorious. When they bought new flint-locks (guns) they used the centre of the breasts of young women as targets to test them. They also shot down from the top of oil palm trees Nkoa-apem men who had climbed up to cut down the fruit. Their cruelty became so intolerable that the elders of the Akwamu state had to persuade the Akwamuhene to send them to the Dutch to be kept in custody and taught a lesson. While in custody they both committed suicide with razors with which they had asked their wives to provide them. The Dutch authorities reported the incident to Ansa Sasraku, adding that they were prepared to offer compensation for the death and pay for the funeral expenses involved. Ansa rejected this reasonable offer and demanded almost 'everything under the sun'. The Dutch authorities could not accept this impossible demand. Ansa declared war on Dutch Accra, and this, the Akuapem and Akwamu traditions say, gave the Hill people the chance to revolt and overthrow the Akwamu rule.

Prior to this incident, which was the immediate cause of the Akuapem people's rising against Akwamu power and which degenerated into a war leading to the destruction of the Akwamu state, the Aburi people had shown the way to the Guan communities, in a fight against Nyanaoase. Aburi had, by this time, been settled largely by people of Akwamu origin, and an Abrade dynasty (of the same clan as that of Nyanaoase) had been established with sovereignty over both the Akan and the Guan communities. Before this time its rulers had been members of the Agona clan, but on the eve of the revolt an Abrade clan had been established by one Opon Tenten who was a 'nephew' (certainly a distant relation) of the Akwamuhene. The Aburi stool had also become the *Twafo* (vanguard) of the Akwamu army.

Nana Kwafo Akoto II, the present Akwamuhene, said Opon Tenten was one of the elders of the Akwamu state who had become increasingly disturbed by Akwamu misrule in the hills and particularly the bad conduct of the two princes. However, an entirely different matter was the cause of Aburi revolt. The

Nkunkren immigrants of Aburi had a quarrel with their queen-mother called Abuwa. She reported the matter to Ansa Sasraku who came down to punish them. On a Wednesday when most of the men were out of the town in their farms, Ansa arranged that the barrels of their guns should be filled with water; and he sent his army to attack them immediately upon their return. Ansa won a total victory and had many of the principal men beheaded.[1]

The rest of the Nkunkren people made an appeal to Opon Tenten, who was the ruler of the Atweasin section of Aburi, to plead with his 'uncle'. Ansa refused to listen to Opon Tenten, and the latter took up arms on behalf of the Nkunkren. In the skirmish which ensued, Opon Tenten was killed and his followers took his body and fled to *Amanfro*[2] where a new settlement was built. Opon Tenten was succeeded by Ofei Agyeman who led the Aburi people in the subsequent general rebellion of the Hill people against Ansa Sasraku, the Akwamuhene.

D. THE COMING OF OFEI KWASI AGYEMAN AND THE AKYEM ABUAKWA WAR CAPTAINS

When the Hill people decided on war with Akwamuhene, they immediately sent an invitation to one Ofei Kwasi Agyeman to lead them in the coming war against Akwamu. For they knew very well their weakness – they lacked unity, and more important, military experience and organisation. Nana Boafo Ansa III, present Kurontihene of Akuapem State and occupant of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool, told the author that Ofei Kwasi was at the time a Kamana warlord with his seat at Gyakiti, on the left bank of the Volta, now part of Akwamu State. The Kamana people, he said, were and are Akan, and had lived west of the Akuapem hills in the area between the Densu and the northern foot of the hills up to the Volta. Their villages included Adumasa near Adawso (on the Koforidua to Accra motor road), Adenya, and Kamana (a village, he said, still bears this name near Adenya).

Ofei Kwasi Agyeman accepted the invitation and led the Hill people in a battle against Akwamu. But they were totally defeated. As a sequel to this defeat, a meeting was held at Abotakyi where all the principal leaders of the rebel forces were present. Included in these were Ofei Kwasi Agyeman and Gyadu Nkansa, who was ruling the Late-Ahenease people. At Abotakyi they swore the oath of the Kyenku shrine to unite and expel the Akwamu from the hills; and to this end an important decision was taken, on the suggestion of Ofei Kwasi, that a deputation be sent to Akyem Abuakwa and to the Okyenhene, Ofori Panyin, for military assistance.

Among the deputies sent were the following:

Mante, chief of Late-Kubease
Okyeame Aye Kissi of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman's House
Opanyin (meaning elder) Yaw Date of Obosomase
Okyeame Kwabena Yobo of Obosomase
Okyeame Awuku Tia of Awukugua

1 This incident is remembered in Aburi today, for it is a taboo for anyone to go into his or her farm on a Wednesday.

2 Amanfro is where the Basel Missionary Society built their Aburi mission station.

Okyeame Dwirasa of Awukugua
Okyeame Ayisi of Apirede

Ofori Panyin welcomed the request of the rebels and deputed his 'younger brother' Ofori Kuma or Safori to lead a contingent to help the rebel forces.

Nana Kwafo Akoto II, present Akwamuhene, added that it was not only the Hill people and the Akyem Abuakwa contingent that took part in the war against Akwamu. The people of Accra, the Obutu (now part of Accra), the Fante, and the Akyem Kotoku and the main body of Akyem Abuakwa men also fought against Akwamu. He admitted that the entry of Akyem into the war was not only because the Abuakwa were invited by the Hill people, but also because the Akyem states were hostile to Akwamu. The Akwamuhene was levying duty on Akyem traders to the European trading forts at Accra. Besides, the Akyem traders were at times attacked and robbed on their way to and from the coast by Akwamu men. Hence the Akyem entry into the war was an opportunity they used to drive the Akwamu out of their way to the European forts.

The battle which followed Akyem entry into the war was fatal to the Akwamu state and empire. The rebel forces aided by the Abuakwa contingent under Ofori Kuma, together with the Fante, the Obutu, and the Ga, defeated the Akwamu and drove them away to the east bank of the Volta, which they crossed at Senkyi (Senchi). Here they built a new state with a capital called Akwamufie. Nana Kwafo Akoto II concluded that the small size of the present-day Akwamu state is due to the fact that only the people of Nyanaoase and a few others from the old Akwamu towns west of the Volta followed the royal house to the present-day Akwamufie. Many of the chiefs and their people in the old Akwamu towns, such as Aburi, Asamankese, Akwatia, Tafo and Apedwa, remained neutral in the last phase of the war. Thus at the end of the war, they chose to remain in their old places. The Akwamu remnants in these towns still have certain customary ties with the present-day Akwamu State. For instance, there are some families in Aburi and the other towns mentioned above, which provide heirs to some stools in the Akwamu state today. With particular reference to Aburi, Asamankese and Akwatia, the Akwamuhene in Akwamufie is always informed of the death of a chief, and the Akwamuhene's representative must be present to take part in the customary celebration before burial takes place. In the same way he is informed of the choice of a new chief, though he has never rejected the choice.

Besides Aburi there are certain other towns in the Akuapem hills which still have connections with Akwamu beyond the Volta. In Mamfe and Akuropon, for instance, there are families which provide heirs to certain subordinate stools in the Akwamu State.

Though Akwamu rule in the Akuapem hills was on the whole an oppressive and destructive one, there is an important legacy of it in the hills today. The Akwamuhene stressed, in an interview with the author, that what is called Akuapem Twi today is a refined Akwamu Twi, the work of the Basel Missionary Society who, in the mid-nineteenth century, converted it into writing – the first local language on the Gold Coast to be so treated. The Akyem immigrants abandoned their Akyem dialect of the Twi and spoke that of the hills.

The Odwira festival is of Akwamu origin. The Aburi Abrade royal house had celebrated the Odwira ever since they settled in the hills. The Akyem Abuakwa immigrants knew only the Adae: it was later that they began to celebrate the Odwira. This information was confirmed by Okyeame Akufo Boafo, one of the

informants of the author, who said it was not until 1826 that the Akuropon paramount stool began the celebration of the Odwira. This was in the reign of Addo Dankwa who took part in the Akantamansu battle of 1826 between a number of coastal states and the English and Danish trading authorities on the one side and the Asante on the other. When the Asante were defeated, Addo Dankwa's booty included the *Odwira Apafram*, that is, the Asante stool paraphernalia connected with the Odwira festival. To this day, the Okuapemhene has kept this treasure.

E. THE AKUAPEM STATE

At the end of the war, and with the expulsion of the Akwamu from the west bank of the Volta, the Akyem Abuakwa war captains led by Safori (Ofori Kuma) retired to Amamprobi where he summoned all the principal leaders of the Akuapem people to a meeting. He asked them to pay for his expenses during the war. According to Nana Boafo Ansa III, the present occupant of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool, a similar demand was made by his predecessor. The Akuapem leaders unanimously[1] requested the Abuakwa war captains and Ofei Kwasi to stay and rule them. This request was made for two reasons: firstly, the Akuapem had no means of recouping the war captains whose services they hired to effect their independence from Akwamu; secondly, they feared the Akwamu might return to reassert their suzerainty over them.

Safori sent messengers to Banso in Abuakwa to inform Ofori Panyin and ask for his opinion on the Akuapem request. The latter was pleased with the news, and the messengers returned to Safori with a favourable reply from Ofori Panyin: he should accept the request and he wished him the best in his new career. To assure himself of loyalty of the Akuapem people, Safori asked them to 'eat fetish', that is, to swear an oath of a shrine of loyalty to him. The Akuapem took him to Abotakyi, and there the oath of the most powerful fetish in the hills at the time, Kyenku of Obosomase, was administered, and the Akuapem leaders swore to serve Safori and his successors loyally for all time.

The traditions of Akuapem say that after the oath of loyalty had been administered Safori distributed offices among the principal leaders of the Akuapem. He made Ofei Agyman (the Aburibene) an Adontenhene over the southern section of the hills with Atweasin, Berekuso, and Ahwerease as his subordinate towns. The rulers of the subordinate towns were given the following titles and ranks: the Berekuso ruler was known as *Ohene* (chief) of Berekuso and the *Twafohene* (vanguard) of the Akuapem State; the rulers of Atweasin and Ahwerease were designated *Odekuro* (headman).

The head of the Nifa (right wing) division was the chief of Adukrom. Asare Duasa became the first Nifahene, and titles and ranks among his subordinate towns were as follows: the rulers of Awukugua, Dawu and Abiriw were designated Ohene of their respective towns; those of Apirede, Abonse (and Aseseeso[2]) were Odekuro; and the ruler of Late-Ahenease, Asiedu Kese, became

1 Mamfe tradition says the leader of Mamfe people, called Apasiapa, was the only one who thought that the Akuapem people should find the compensation demanded by the war captains to enable them to depart.

2 This town was not founded until the 1870s.

the Benkumhene (chief of the Benkum division) with the rulers of the following towns as his sub-chiefs: Ohene of Late-Kubease,[1] Ohene of Mamfe, Odekuro of Abotakyi, Ohene of Mampon, Odekuro of Tutu and Odekuro of Obosomase.

Two other important divisional offices, according to the informants of the author, seem to have been created at a later stage. The first is the office of Kurontihene of Akuapem. This office was created by Kwapon Kyerefo, the successor of Fianko Betuafo. The first occupant was Ofei Kwasi Agyeman, who was designated the first Adontenhene at Abotakyi. He and his followers were given a piece of land at Adenya. The descendants of Ofei Kwasi's household in Akuropon own the area around Adenya today. The other is the office of Gyaasehene, a post created for a collateral branch of the Abuakwa dynasty. The first occupant of the stool attached to this office was Kwatia Akompi; he and his followers built their first settlement near where Amanokrom is situated today, between Mamfe and Abotakyi. It was a third occupant of this Gyaasehene stool, after whom the town was named, Amano Awua, who moved the settlement to the present site at Amanokrom.

According to Okyeame Akufo Boafo, one of the informants of the author, the seat of the Gyaasehene, who was designated second Adontenhene, was moved from Akuropon to Amanokrom for security reasons. He and his people, who were of the same clan as the Okuapemhene, were to 'censor news and open their ears to plans of revolt among the southern people of the state'. For the same reason, the office of Mankrado was created, filled by followers of the Abuakwa war captains, in some of the Guan speaking towns – Obosomase, the two Late towns and Adukrom. These Mankrado, the Gyaasehene, the Kurontihene and a few other chiefs in Akuropon were members of a 'State Council', headed by the Okuapemhene, and this council was the supreme ruling body in the state.

Meanwhile Safori and his followers retired to *Amamprobi*, where a piece of land granted them by Okyeame Aworoben became the first capital of the new state. This place is on the north-west of Mamfe – the western slope of the hill; and one Abiriwhene Bagyire complained that it was off the main route on the ridge so he offered a piece of land nearer Abiriw called *Nsorem*. This place too was found unsuitable for it became water-logged in the rainy season, so a new site was chosen on a piece of land belonging to both Abiriw and Mamfe. The place called *Mpeniase* (under the *Mpeni* tree) grew to become modern Akuropon, named by the Akyem Abuakwa immigrants after the town in Abuakwa from which they had come. The Kyerepon and the Late people call Akuropon *Koman* and its inhabitants *Komanfo* (a word meaning 'deliverers'; hence Koman means 'the town of deliverers').

When he was settled at Amamprobi, and before he moved to Akuropon, the Okuapemhene instituted the Adae festival. One of the main objectives, as will be

1 In the 1920s the Late Kubeasehene was assigned the office of Kyidomhene of Akuapem but this has subsequently been taken away. Mamfe tradition claims that the Mamfehene was originally the first Benkumhene and this position was lost to Late-Ahenease. The tradition says one Mamfehene gave his *akofena* (a staff of office carried usually in war) to messengers from one Kubeasehene at an outbreak of a war when the Mamfehene was not prepared to go; but this staff had to be carried by the Benkum contingent. Though the Mamfehene eventually took part in the war, he was unable to recover the *akofena* from the Kubeasehene who had handed it over to his superior Late-Aheneasehene. After a long period of litigation over this, the settlement reached before the Okuapemhene (whose name is not remembered) was that the Benkumhene should keep both the staff and the office; however, an approval of a choice of Benkumhene had to be given by the Mamfehene. The author's informant says this practice still takes place.

seen below, for the institution of this festival was that the divisional chiefs and their subchiefs had to appear in Akuropon on the occasion of the *Adae Kese* (or the great Adae which takes place once a year) to renew their oath of loyalty to the occupant of the paramount stool. The Okuapemhene also renewed his oath to respect the Okuapemman constitution on this occasion. Today the place of the Adae Kese is taken by the Odwira festival.

Nana Boafo Ansa told the author that in course of time the Okuapemhene created a number of stools in Akuropon, and the occupants of these stools were largely chosen from among his followers, particularly members of the Asona clan to which the new dynasty belongs. Of these new offices, the most important are: *Odiaboo Agua* (occupant of the Odiaboo stool), also designated *Asonahene*, (chief of the Asona clan) and an important member of the kingmaker's council; *Gyamani Awere Agua*, also designated Koman Kyeame (spokesman for Koman [Akuropon]); *Ansa Sasruka Agua* who was also the spokesman for the Benkum division; *Aduana Agua*, a spokesman for the Nifa Division; *Asiama Panyin Agua*, a spokesman for the Adonten Division; and *Banmuhene*, the chief of the royal mausoleum.

These were all public officials but closely associated with the Okuapemhene's court in Akuropon; that is, they were chiefs at Akuropon but were holders of important offices in the state, sometimes taking precedence over the divisional rulers. An instance in this case given by Nana Boafo Ansa is that the Benkumhene could only 'speak to the Okuapemhene through the occupant of the Ansa Sasraku Agua, who was the spokesman of the Benkum division, and who in turn would pass the message through the Kurontihene, thence to the Okuapemhene'. The Kurontihene thus became an important chief in the state next in rank to the Okuapemhene.

In the divisions such a system was reproduced in miniature. The Benkumhene became the head of his division, and chiefs of the subordinate towns were responsible to him through the Mankrado (as Kurontihene was called in the Divisional towns) of Late-Ahenease. The sub-chiefs of the Benkum division swore oaths of allegiance to the Benkumhene and thereafter to the Okuapemhene.

The traditions of the Guan-speaking communities say that they did not abolish the office of priest-chiefs immediately. These priest-chiefs were those recognised as the rulers of the Guan towns when the 'concord of Abotakyi' was made. In course of time, however, they adopted the Akan system. Stools of the Akan type were created as a first step, and as a second step, the dual offices of chief and priest were separated. In Abiriw, Nana Bagyire IV says this was done about eighty years ago. In Mamfe it is believed that by 1826 the separation had been made, for Agyekum, who was the Mamfehene believed to have led the Mamfe contingent to the battle of Akantamasu (1826), is recognised as an '*Ohene* (chief) who was not an *osofo*' (priest).

These public offices in Akuapem, as in any Akan state, had both civil and military duties. The civil duties of a chief included the taking of important decisions on day to day affairs in the town, the division, or the state as a whole according to his position. The more important decisions of state were certainly taken by the Okuapemhene assisted by a small council made up of the Kurontihene of Akuapem, the Gyaasehene, and the Mankrado of Obosomase, of the two Late towns and of Adukrom. Another important civil duty attached to each stool was that of a court of law. Each chief with his principal elders in the town of Akuapem constituted a court of law, and appeals were carried from the lowest court to the

highest court in the state. Obviously the Okuapemhene's court, consisting of the members mentioned above, formed the highest court in the state. In recent years such judicial duties enjoyed by the chiefs in Ghana have been taken over by Magistrates appointed by the Central Government.

Military duties of chiefs in the Akuapem state were as important as the civil duties. The Okuapemhene was the commander-in-chief, but his fighting position[1] was usually in the centre, surrounded immediately by the Gyaasehene, the Ankobeahene and the Kurontihene with their contingents. In the vanguard was the Adontenhene with his subordinate chiefs and people. The Berekusohene, as the Twafohene (chief of the vanguard) of Akuapem bore the brunt of war with his men. On the left and right flanks, but slightly ahead of the Okuapemhene, were the Benkumhene and Nifahene respectively as commanders of the men of their subordinate towns. In the rear was the Kyidomhene's contingent.

F. WARS

The following account of wars and battles is virtually a direct translation from Twi into English by the author of oral evidence published in *Native Reports in Tshi*. No one in Akuapem today remembers such detailed accounts of wars in which the Akuapem people were involved during the period under study. The narratives in the *Native Reports in Tshi*, as already mentioned, were given by eye witnesses or those who took part in the wars and battles, and were written down in Twi by some Africans trained by the Basel Mission Society at Akuropon for missionary work.

Wars in the reign of the Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo

(a) The Akuapem part in the battles between the Osu Europeans and Kankan Europeans[2] (Evidence collected by P. Keteku from an old man called Sonko of Akuropon)

A governor of the Osu castle called Kotoku[3] on one occasion asked the Okuapemhene, Obuobi Atiemo, to aid the Danes in a battle at Accra against the Dutch company in Dutch Accra. Obuobi Atiemo and his men proceeded to Accra where Kotoku gave them 500 guns, 3 barrels of wine, 3 cows and 1000 heads of cowries. Arrangement was made for a battle with the Dutch after these supplies had been made. The combined forces of the Akuapem contingent and Osu men led by Kotoku marched towards the Dutch fort. A fierce battle took place between the forces of the two combatants, the Dutch aided by an Akyem Abuakwa contingent provided by Obirikoran.

In the end the Dutch were defeated and they sued for peace. The Akuapem suffered losses of about 35 dead and 200 wounded. They demanded a heavy compensation because of these losses. Kotoku recouped them with 40 benda, 200 heads of cowries, 3 cows and 3 barrels of wine. After the war Kotoku left for Europe and was succeeded by Twedi.[4]

1 See Appendix III.

2 The Osu Europeans were the Danes and Kankan were the Dutch.

3 This may be Aarestrup, the Danish governor at Christiansborg, 1772–77.

4 Twedi may be a mis-pronunciation of Kiøge who succeeded Conrad Hansen, the successor of Aarestrup as Danish governor of Christiansborg (1777–80). Kiøge was then the governor of the Ada fort. He became a governor of Christiansborg (1780–88).

(b) Akuapem and the Anlo War (1784)

Some time after the war with Dutch Accra, Twedi sent another request to the Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo to help the Danes in a war against the Anwona (Anlo) people. The Akuapem force led by Obuobi Atiemo proceeded to Ada where it joined other forces in alliance with the Danes from Osu and Labade. They tried to cross the Volta at its mouth into Anlo country. They met with a strong resistance from the Anlo who attacked them from trenches they had dug on the east bank of the Volta. The allied forces had to change their route and crossed the Volta further north near the town of Agrafe and made a rear attack on the Anlo forces. The latter lost this first battle and fled to Ohuta followed closely by the Danes and their allies. After a siege of Ohuta which lasted for a day, the Anlo surrendered and sued for peace. They agreed to serve the Danes.

Twita (Keta), another Anlo town, was attacked after the siege of Ohuta; this section of the Anlo also surrendered; their chief sent nine princes to Twedi as security for keeping the peace and remaining subservient to the Danes.

The expedition had taken almost two months and Obuobi Atiemo and his Akuapem contingent decided to return home. They passed through Accra where they were paid for their part in the war by Twedi. They received 8 slaves, a number of cowries, knives, guns, tobacco pipes, tobacco and pieces of cloth; besides Atiemo, the Okuapemhene was to receive monthly payment from the Danish government at Osu. Some time after this war Twedi left for Europe and was succeeded by Biedo.[1]

A few years after this war a number of Europeans came into the hills and informed the Okuapemhene, Saforo Twe,[2] that they would like to acquire a piece of land and stay in the hills. The Okuapemhene asked them to choose any site they wanted and he would get his men to clear the area for them to build their settlement. They chose Amanapaso, an area in the north-east, outside Akuropon. The area was cleared for them and they built a beautiful stone house and stayed with the people of Akuropon.

One of the white man was called Ku (Mr Lindt).[3] They planted oranges, guava and many other types of fruit. But within a short time they decided to leave. Okuapemhene told them they had permission to go for no one invited them. Some of them went to Accra, but Ku went to Ada and stayed there.

(c) The Akuapem and Krobo War with Asante

Akuapem and Krobo once became involved in a war against the Asante through Akyem[4], whose ruler was Twum Ampoforo. He had obtained a loan of gold from the Asantehene Osei.[5] Twum Ampoforo refused to pay the loan. The Asantehene sent an army commanded by Adu Sei to invade Akyem country, and to bring

1 Biedo may be A. Biørn, governor of the Danish settlements, 1789–93.

2 This narrative is certainly oral evidence on Isert's attempt to establish a plantation and a 'colony' in Akuapem in 1788–89, an event which contemporary sources indicate occurred in the reign of the Okuapemhene Obuobi Atiemo, and not that of Kwao Saforo Twe. See Chapter 4 of this work.

3 Ku (Mr Lindt) in the tradition may be J. N. Flindt who is known to have taken charge of the plantation in Akuapem after Isert's death. He left the Akuapem plantation in 1794 and later became governor of the Ada fort. See Chapters 3 and 4.

4 Akyem Abuakwa perhaps.

5 Osei Kojo perhaps.

Twum dead or living to Kumasi. Twum appealed to the Akuapem to help him and his Akyem army against the Asante.

When the invading Asante army reached Akyem country, Twum Ampoforo and his Akyem forces fled to Fante country; Adu Sei, the commander of the Asante army, and his men continued their drive into the Akuapem hills. Obuobi Atiemo and his Akuapem forces met the Asante army at Ahabante at the western foot of the hills. The Akuapem men suffered a severe defeat in a battle which took place, and fled through Akuropon into the Krobo hills. Adu Sei and his forces followed the Akuapem and made their camp at the foot of the hills; and he sent messengers to Dako, the ruler of Akwamu, to send men to help the Asante army against the Akuapem and Krobo, who had subsequently become involved in the war. The combined Akwamu and the Asante armies remained at the foot of the hills and subjected the Akuapem and the Krobo men to severe hunger and thirst.

After several days the Asantehene, Osei, sent one Oko to Adu Sei that his mission had been to make war against the Akyem and not the Akuapem and Krobo, and he should therefore withdraw his forces and stop disturbing the Akuapem and the Krobo. After the departure of Adu Sei and the Asante army and the return of the Akuapem men to their home in the Akuapem hills, Osei sent another Lieutenant, called Odenkyem, to raise an Asante flag in Akuapem. Odenkyem spent a year in Akuapem before returning to Asante.

Meanwhile Awuku,[1] a prince of the royal house at Akuropon, was sent to Kumasi by Obuobi Atiemo with presents and a message of thanks to the Asantehene, and he acknowledged Akuapem submission to Asante rule. After Awuku's return to Akuapem, a number of Asante messengers from the Asantehene followed and collected 16 benda from the Okuapemhene to the Asantehene.

Wars in the reign of Kwao Saforo Twe (The evidence was collected by David Asante in 1854 from Aduobe and Korantemma who lived in Akuropon)

(a) Kwao Saforo Twe and War with the people of Accra

Kwao Saforo Twe succeeded Ohene Kuma, who had a very short reign as Okuapemhene. The latter ruled for only three months; however, he was known to have been a peaceful ruler.

Kwao, on the other hand, was actively engaged in war for the greater part of his reign, with the neighbouring people of Accra; at home he was known to have been very oppressive – his reign witnessed a number of unnecessary executions. He was a terror to the neighbouring people of Accra, particularly Teshie and Dutch Accra. He raided their country and brought to the hills a number of prisoners, most of whom he executed in a most cruel and inhumane manner.

On one occasion he marched his men against Teshie and Dutch Accra and camped on the outskirts of the towns. The Teshie and the Dutch Accra people became alarmed and many took refuge in the English and Dutch forts. The officials of the forts ordered Kwao to withdraw, promising to pay the compensation he would demand. But Kwao would not accept peace on any terms. On the second day, Kwao ordered his men to raid and destroy the farms around Accra. The officials of the forts who had been keeping watch from the top of the forts

1 Awuku may be Awuku Fenenee who became Okuapemhene after the death of Obuobi Atiemo. See Chapter 3.

saw this as a weak point in the position of the Akuapem army. The Teshie and the Dutch Accra men took the chance and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Akuapem men. Many were killed and others were taken prisoners. Among the prisoners were the wife of Kwao Saforo Twe and his brother. He returned to the hills with his depleted forces, and soon became involved in war with the Asante.

(b) War with the Asante, 1811–15

The Akuapem in 1811 were once again drawn into war with the Asante by an Akyem ruler called Ata Ayiekosan.[1] Ata, who had helped the Asante at Onomabo,[2] and Gyaman refused to serve the Asante and declared war on them in 1811. The Akyem ruler died from an attack of *mpete* (small pox) at Kwanyako in October 1811. His successor was called Kwaku Asante or Obiwom.[3] Earlier Ata had been succeeded on his death by Asare Bediako, but he had been destooled immediately and Kwaku Asante installed in his place.

Ata Ayiekosan in 1811 drew the Akuapem into war with the Asante. The Akuapem army met the Asante army in a major battle at Nkwapranase,[4] in the county west of the Akuapem hills. The battle lasted long and many Akuapem men lost their lives. The Akuapem army withdrew to Akuropon followed closely by the Asante army which was commanded by Opoku Fredefrede. The Akuapem army was led by Kwao Saforo Twe. Followed by the Asante, Kwao and his men left the hills for *Siade* (Shai) country, thence to Ada still pursued by Opoku and his Asante men. From Ada the fugitive chief and his men came back towards Akuapem after eluding the Asante at Ada. They passed through Krobo country and reached Abonse in Akuapem. Still followed by the Asante army the Akuapem men retreated to Akwamu country, returned through Mampon in Akuapem and across the hills to Fante country. The Asante became exhausted in this wild chase which lasted for several weeks, and Opoku and his men returned to Kumasi.

While the Akuapem men were in Fante country, they heard the news that 'the whiteman at the Ada fort, called Ku (Flindt) had been taken prisoner by the Asante; that he was stripped naked and his hair cut to the skull; that he was forced to eat fried corn; and that he was given the *bommaa* drum to carry.'

When the Asante army returned to Kumasi, the Akuapem and their ruler, Kwao, returned to the hills. Kwao would not remain peaceful; he made another attack on the people of Accra. They managed to send news of the attack by the Okuapemhene to Kumasi and an Asante army, commanded by Amankwaa, came down in 1814. The events of this second Asante invasion of Akuapem in three years lasted for a short time. The Akuapem army withdrew to Fante country once more, but soon returned to the hills, because the Fante felt they had had enough of Kwao. He went to Amamprobi, near Akuropon; from this hiding place he sent messengers to sue for peace with the Asante. The Akuapem made their application through the people of Accra. They gave the Accra 18 men and the Asante 1500; the Asante demanded the head of Kwao in addition. So he was

1 This is Ata Wusu Yiakonsan of Akyem Abuakwa in the Asante war of 1811--16 against Akuapem, Akyem and Fante; see Chapter 3.

2 Anomabo in 1806–07.

3 Obiwom is a Twi name given to the younger of twins (Ata Obiwom for male, Ataa for female).

4 Nkwapranase is now known as Adenya, a village on the Akuapem to Koforidua motor road.

given up and was executed together with his brothers Opoku and Amankwa Siaw. The Nifahene of Adukrom, Anim and his brother Kwaku suffered the same fate as Kwao.

Wars in the reign of Addo Dankwa (Recorded by Isaac Ado of Akuropon from evidence given by Aduobe of Asantema [Obosomase] in 1863)

(a) Nsamankaw War

After the death of Kwao, the Asante imposed on the Akuapem a severe rule: 'We were controlled like children', says the tradition. Not only Akuapem, but also Akyem, Fante and Accra came under direct Asante rule. To Akuapem, the Asantehene Osei Bonsu frequently sent messengers to demand anything at all he wished; and the Akuapem men and women were frequently seen on the route from Accra to Kumasi carrying lime to white-wash the palace of the Asantehene. The Asante men who came to live in Akuapem subjected the people to all kinds of bad treatment. They took any farm products they wanted; and committed adultery with the beautiful wives of the Akuapem men, with impunity. The Asante domination of Akuapem became intolerable.

One day in 1823, news reached Akuapem that a certain European officer called Mankata (Sir Charles MacCarthy) had arrived in Cape Coast and was recruiting men from the southern states for an expedition against the Asante. A messenger from Accra soon arrived in the hills, and asked the Okuapemhene and his men to proceed to Accra for ammunition for a war against the Asante. The ruler of Akyem (Abuakwa) at that time was queen mother Dokua. She sent messengers to Akuapem to find out the opinion of Addo Dankwa, the Okuapemhene. He declared to support Mankata, because 'it is from the white man that we shall get something' he said. Together with the Akyem contingent, Addo Dankwa's men proceeded to Accra to collect their share of ammunition. After that some of the Akuapem men were sent to Cape Coast to join the forces of Mankata, and the main army commanded by Addo Dankwa himself joined the Akyem army and proceeded to meet the Asante army coming down south. They met a section of the Asante army in Kwahu country and the allies inflicted a severe defeat on it in a night attack. The victorious Akuapem army returned home to receive the sad news of the death of Mankata in a severe defeat the Asante had inflicted on his forces at Nsamankaw; a number of Fante men and some of the Akuapem men who had joined him were among the slain.

(b) Akantamansu War (1826)

Two years after the death of Mankata, another European officer arrived at the coast. He was called Krodua,[1] whose mission was to follow up Mankata's expedition against the Asante. He led his forces he had collected at Accra to Mampon in the hills on his way to Asante. But on the advice of Addo Dankwa and Dokua of Akyem (Abuakwa), that he should wait for the Asante army, which they promised they would conduct to the grassland plains east of the Akuapem hills, he withdrew to Accra.

After Krodua's withdrawal to Accra, news was received in Akuapem that Bonsu, the Asantehene,[2] had reached Akyem country; and many Akyem men and

1 Krodua in the Akuapem traditions must surely be Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon, the builder of the great alliance which crushed the Asante power at Dodowa in 1826.

2 The name of the Asantehene in this tradition is wrongly given as (Osei) Bonsu. He is said to have died in this war as a result of two bullet shots he received at Dodowa, and was succeeded by his younger brother Kwaku Dua (see end of this narrative).

women fled into the hills. Bonsu continued his march towards Accra through Adweso (near Koforidua) and made his camp at Amanokrom in the Akuapem hills. The Akuapem and Akyem fled before the Asante army without striking a blow. Addo Dankwa passed the information about the Asante movement on to Krodua in Accra; and on a Sunday morning the latter arranged the position of the allied forces for a battle against the Asante the day following (Monday). Dokua, the queen mother of Akyem, swore on oath that she and her men would take the vanguard against the Asante; Addo Dankwa swore to do the same, so did Akoto of Akwamu and Otibu of Denkyira. Krodua who seemed very pleased with their enthusiasm congratulated them, but said he and his men would lead the allies against the Asante.

The following day the allied forces met the Asante army which had descended the hills and were near Dodowa on the move towards Accra. At a village called Akantamansu a severe battle ensued. The cannons of the European officers caused great damage to the Asante army, starting a fire among its positions. Osei Bonsu himself received two bullet shots; he decided on a retreat and was laughed at by his captains. His flight back to his capital took him four days; he never reached it and died just outside Kumasi. His brother Kwaku Dua ruled after him.

A large number of Asante men lost their lives in the war and many were taken prisoner and sent to Accra; among them were the wives of the principal chiefs and captains of the Asante army. These important people numbered 50 and the total number of prisoners was about 1000. The Asantehene himself barely escaped capture. The allies suffered a few losses – the Twafohene (chief of the vanguard) of Akwamu, Debra, lost his head to the Asante. The Akuapem losses were two dead in the battle; however, many died in an epidemic which followed the war. The epidemic was partly caused by hunger as their farms were destroyed by the retreating Asante men.

However, Akantamansu witnessed a significant victory over the Asante, and the Akuapem became free from Asante domination. Praises were sung by drums and horns of the chiefs to the white man, particularly Mankata.

(c) War with the Krobo, 1835

The peace after the Akantamansu war did not last for more than ten years in Akuapem. In 1835 a European officer at Osu called Sum (Mørch) arrived at Akuropon and informed Addo Dankwa that the Krobo had shown signs of insubordination to him as governor of the Osu Castle, and that Addo should join him in an expedition against them.

Addo Dankwa did as Sum requested, and together with a contingent from the Osu castle he led the Akuapem contingent down the eastern side of the hill into Krobo country. Before the opening battle between the allies and the Krobo, Addo Dankwa asked Sum to supply his force with ammunition. The latter said the Akuapem men should use what they already possessed and he would give them more if their own supply got finished. Hence, early the following morning, the Akuapem men opened fire on the Krobo. The battle continued throughout the day till night came. The ammunition of the Akuapem had all been used, but Sum still refused the request of Addo to give him a supply, even though he offered his two sons as security for payment when he got back to the hills.

Addo Dankwa and his men decided to leave the field of battle, for they realised that Sum was secretly sending arms to the Krobo side. But Sum threatened that

he would shoot Addo if he left the field. After a long exchange of hot words, Addo and his Akuapem contingent left for the hills.

When Adum, a nephew of Addo, realised that his uncle and Sum had quarrelled, he went to Osu when Sum returned from the Krobo expedition, and persuaded him to depose Addo and put him in his place. Of late, Adum had become very ambitious. He would in secret raise his chair into the air and say: 'Heaven and Earth, my chair is too small, grant me a bigger one to sit on'. Thus Sum found ways and means of destooling Addo Dankwa, and Adum was installed in his place. Indeed, Sum brought much confusion to the Akuapem state.

G. FESTIVALS

The main festivals introduced in Akuapem by their overlords – the Akwamu and the Akyem Abuakwa – were the *Adae* and the *Odwira*. The celebration of these festivals has both religious and political significance.

The *Adae festival* which is observed at regular and fixed times throughout the year is of two kinds:

(i) the *Akwasidae* and
(ii) the *Awukudae*.

The Akwasidae falls on a Sunday and the Awukudae on a Wednesday. The calculation of the days on which these festivals are celebrated is as follows: if Awukudae falls on this Wednesday, the Sunday beginning the following third week is Akwasidae. Seventeen days after Akwasidae is Awukudae. Hence Akwasidae occurs on each fortieth day. Between these two important days are three other religious days. The Friday which comes ten days before Akwasidae is known as *Fida Fofie*; the Tuesday before the Awukudae Wednesday is called *Benada Dapaa*; and the Saturday before the Akwasidae Sunday is *Memeneda Dapaa*.[1]

The drums of the royal house are beaten in the evenings before the Akwasidae or Awukudae to remind the people of the occasion the following day. Early in the morning the beating of the drums is repeated and about ten o'clock in the morning the elders of the town go to pay homage to the occupant of the stool. The chief provides them with drinks. Discussion on any important matter in the town takes place during this time. Installation of sub-officers in the town may also be made. For instance, if a new spokesman is to be nominated to fill a vacant office, he is usually nominated and presented to the chief on this occasion and he swears the oath of office. At about three o'clock in the evening of Akwasidae or Awukudae, the chief and his principal men repair to the stool house where libation is poured and the ancestral stools 'given food', which is usually mashed yam.

The ninth Akwasidae in a year is the principal one. It is known as *Akwasidae-Kese* and *Adae Butuw* falls on that day. When Adae Butuw falls all civil ceremonies, that is the various ordinary Adae festivals, as well as any other social gathering which involves beating of drums and merry-making or mourning, are

1 The names of the Adae festivals are mainly based on the names of the weekdays in Twi: viz.: Sunday = *Kwasida*, Monday = *Dwoda*, Tuesday = *Benada*, Wednesday = *Wukuda*, Thursday = *Yawda*, Friday = *Fida*, Saturday = *Memeneda*.

suspended for forty days. No drums are beaten until the end of the period. It is also considered an ill omen for anyone to die during the forty days. On the fortieth day when the ban is lifted, the Odwira festival begins. Unlike the Adae, the celebration of which is confined to the Akan immigrants in Akuapem, the Odwira of the Okuapemhene is a 'national' festival and every chief in the Akuapem state is expected to pay homage to the Okuapemhene on the day he holds a durbar at Akuropon.

The Odwira festival in Akuapem occurs usually in the month of September, a period of the year when the first yams planted in the year are harvested. The yam must be first eaten by the ancestors of the occupant of the stool before the Okuapemhene and his subjects eat it. It is a week-long celebration, each day having its special and fixed activity.

Beginning with the Sunday on which the ban of Adae Butuw is lifted, the *Odwira tuo*[1] is shot; that is, a gun is shot into the air by one of the royal executioners, signifying the lifting of the ban and the beginning of the Odwira week. The 'Odwira' (special paraphernalia) is brought home from the royal mausoleum, after the celebration is over, to the palace at dawn on the Monday following the Akwasidae. Libation is poured on it and sacrifices are made.

On the Monday is observed general lamentation and mourning for the stool, and for ordinary people who have died. The purification of the Okuapemhene and the stools in the stream of Amanapa in Akuropon takes place the following day, Tuesday, and also the sprinkling of mashed yam to the stools and the dead. Wednesday is for general feasting and dancing; this continues the following day. Friday is the most important day of all in the Akuapem state. The Omanhene sits in state and receives his chiefs and sub-chiefs. They renew their oath of allegiance to the occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool made at Abotakyi. Any wing or sub-chief who does not make his appearance in Akuropon is charged with showing signs of rebellion. Such a situation is not known to have occurred in Akuapem.

The day is also observed as a general meeting day and the ordinary people as well as the chiefs may take part in discussing important matters in the state. The Saturday following, the occupant of the Ofei Kwasi Agyeman stool also holds his durbar as the chief of Akuropon, and matters concerning Akuropon town are discussed.

According to some of the informants of the author, the Odwira festival in Akuapem was first celebrated after the defeat of the Asante at Akantamansu in 1826. Until that time, the important occasion for all the chiefs and people of Akuapem, during which they paid homage to the Okuapemhene, was the *Akwasidae Kese*. In the war of 1826, the Okuapemhene, Addo Dankwa, and his Akuapem contingent, are believed to have captured important state paraphernalia for the celebration of the Odwira festival from the Asante. This treasure has since remained in Akuapem.

1 *tuo* is a Twi word meaning gun.

H. CHIEFS' LIST OF OCCUPANTS OF THE OKUAPEMHENE'S STOOL IN AKUAPEM TRADITION, *c.* 1730–1850

1 Safori
2 Okyerema Manukure
3 Ofei Boa
4 Ofei Amanapa
5 Ofei Ntoakyerewa
6 Amaniafim
7 Sakyiama Tenten
8 Fianko Betuafo
9 Kwapon Kyerefo
10 Obuobi Atiemo
11 Awuku Fenenee
12 Ohene Kuma
13 Kwao Saforo Twe
14 Addo Dankwa
15 Adum Tokori
16 Kwadade I (Ohene Kuma)

J. TABLE OF COLLECTED ORAL TRADITIONS OF AKUAPEM

	Name of Informant	*Office or Status*	*Age*	*Standard of Education*	*Mode of Collection*	*Date*	*Remarks*
1	Nana Asiedu Agyemfra IV	Ohene of Late-Kubease	55	Literate in Twi and English	Conversation and discussion in his palace. Two elders present.	August 1965	Emphasis on the two towns of Late.
2	Nana Osae Djan II	Adontenhene of Akuapem	over 80	Literate in Twi and English	Conversation and discussion in his palace; his secretary present.	August 1965	Emphasis on the Akwamu settlers in the hills.
3	Nana Otu Anobaa Sasraku II	Ohene of Mampon	72	Literate in Twi and English	A short conversation and discussion in his palace with the author.	September 1965	Emphasis on the tradition of Mampon.
4	Nana Kwame Fori II	Okuapemhene	66	Literate in Twi and English	A short conversation in his palace with the author.	September 1965	Emphasis on the Akyem overlords.
5	Addo Adam	A descendant of Okyeame Aworoben of Mamfe	51	Illiterate	Conversation with the author recorded on tape.	March 1966	Emphasis on tradition of Mamfe.
6	Opanyin Atua Kofi	An old man at Mamfe	over 90 (born just before the 1874 war between Asante and the British)	Illiterate	Conversation in his house recorded on tape.	July 1967	Emphasis on tradition of Mamfe, the Late and Kyerepon Guan communities.

7	Nana Otutu Baagyiri IV	Ohene of Abiriw	54	Literate in Twi and English (a trained teacher in the Ghana Educational System)	Conversation recorded on tape in his palace.	July 1967	Emphasis on tradition of the Kyerepon Guan and position of fetish priests.
8	Nana Kwafo Akoto II	Akwamuhene	58	Literate in Twi and English	Conversation and discussion with the author in the palace of the Akwamuhene. Recorded on tape.	August 1967	Emphasis on the rise and fall of Akwamu power over the Akuapem ridge.
	Okyeame Kwafo	Spokesman of the Akwamuhene	54	Illiterate			
	Mr Alex Otopa	A former State Secretary	49	Literate in Twi and English			
9	Nana Ofori Ata II	Okyenhene, Akyem Abuakwa	65	Literate in Twi and English	A short conversation in his palace. His secretary present.	September 1967	Emphasis on Akyem Abuakwa relations with Akuapem.
10	H. C. Pobi	An Osafohene (captain of a ward) of Mamfe	56	Literate in Twi and English	A short conversation recorded on tape.	September 1967	Emphasis on system of inheritance among Mamfe people.
11	Okyeame Akufo Boafo	Spokesman of the Okuapemhene	56	Literate in Twi and English	Conversation and discussion recorded on tape in his house.	December 1967	Discussion on all aspects of Akuapem traditions.
12	Nana Boafo Ansa III	Kurontihene of Akuapem	54	Literate in Twi and English	Conversation recorded on tape in his house.	December 1967	Emphasis on the career of of Ofei Kwasi Agyeman and distribution of offices.

By literacy in Twi and English is meant ability to read and write Twi and simple English.

K. QUESTIONNAIRE ON AKUAPEM
c. 1730–1850

Pre-Akwamu period to c. *1640*

(i) Who were the peoples on the Akuapem Hill?
How and when did they come there?
Who led them there?
What was their major occupation?

(ii) What was their system of government?
Were they united under one chief?
How strong was he in the exercise of his power?
Or were the Akuapem made up of separate independent groups or states?
What were the capitals?
List of rulers of more important towns.

(iii) What were the languages or dialects spoken on the ridge: Guan (Kyerepon and Late) or Twi?

The Akwamu period c. *1640–1730*

(i) Was the Akwamu domination of the ridge achieved by conquest or peaceful invasion?

(ii) What were the various towns under the domination of Akwamu?

(iii) Were there any revolts against the Akwamu before 1727? If so, what were the main causes?

(iv) What were the causes of the 1727–30 revolt?

(v) Were there any Akyem elements in Akuapem during this period?

Akyem migration into Akuapem

(i) When did the Akyem migration into Akuapem take place?

(ii) If it took place in 1730 as records and oral traditions show, were there some Akyem people already inhabiting certain parts of Akuapem before the defeat of Akwamu in 1729–30?

(iii) Does the Akyem dynasty date from 1730 or from an earlier date? Which of the kings provided mentioned in the Chiefs' List was ruling in that year?

(iv) On the arrival of the Akyem who were the people living on the Akuapem ridge?

(v) How was the ridge governed when they arrived? Or what was the nature of the system of rule or the distribution of power on the ridge?

(vi) Who were the neighbours of the Akuapem?

(vii) What was the relationship between the Akuapem and their neighbours?

(viii) Have some of the peoples on the ridge moved from their original home since the arrival of the Akyem?

(ix) Had the peoples on the ridge been fighting among themselves? Or were they living peacefully?

(x) List of any of the important rulers before the arrival of the Akyem.

The establishment and growth of power of the new settlers – Akyem

(i) Were there any difficulties encountered by the new overlords in the course of the imposition of their rule?

(ii) Were there any revolts or rebellions after the consolidation of their power?

(iii) What powers, if any, did any chief outside Akropong share in the selection and enstoolment of the Omanhene of Akuapem State? Is this right or privilege still existing?
(iv) Has there been any change of dynasty since 1730 or earlier?
(v) How was the distribution of wing chiefs made? Was it based on any existing order or was a new creation by the new overlords?
(vi) Were there any new gods the Akyem brought with them? Were they accepted by the people they came to meet?
(vii) Was the system of ancestor worship, as exemplified in the Odwira festivals, already existing when the Akyem arrived or did they introduce it?
(viii) How were the oaths of the Omanhene, and in effect Akuapem as a whole, acquired?
(ix) The drum music, songs etc. and their history.

Warfare

(i) How was the state organised for war purposes? Any standing army? If not, how did it raise the men for war?
(ii) The weapons for war and how they were used.
(iii) Who were the common enemy of Akuapem?
(iv) Major wars or battles in which Akuapem took part.

The economy

(i) What were the main sources of revenue for the Omanhene, chiefs and other people?
(ii) Was there any trade? If so what was the direction of trade and the major commodities? Any trade before the arrival of Europeans? How did the arrival of Europeans affect the economy and commercial activities?
(iii) Were/are there any minerals in Akuapem? How were they mined and what use was put to them?

Relics

(i) Are there any ancient sites, relics, cemeteries etc. which pre-date the coming of the Akyem?
(ii) Any important battle fields or sites on the ridge?
(iii) Any disputes or litigations over land boundaries between Akuapem and their neighbours? Which court tried these cases? What were the results? Any document on these?
(iv) Have there been any internal constitutional disputes over succession and destoolment of the king, wing chief, etc.? When were these and what were the results?

Genealogy and revised list of occupants of the Okuapemhene's Stool, *c.* 1730–1850

OHEMMEA[1]	ISSUE *Female*	*Male*	OKUAPEMHENE	REMARKS
Aberewa Musu m.[2] Agyeman of Adanse Akrokyere	Aberewa Nyansawa			Aberewa Musu was a legendary figure – she was supposed to have 'descended from heaven in a brass pan at Sebenso in Adanse'.
Aberewa Nyansawa m. Onipa Kani	Oberedwum Panyin Oberedwum Aso Oberedwum Kuma	Asakyiri		
Oberedwum Aso m. Oben Adeboe (son of Asakyiri)	Butua Kani	Owiaa Kotobere		
Butua Kani m. Takwa Nyako Kusiamoa	Owiaa	Kuntukununku		Kuntukununku – founder of Akyem Abuakwa dynasty, migrated to Abuakwa country *c.* 1660.
Owiaa m. Apeanini, Kwaforoamoa of Adanse	Yeboaa Owiredua Gyarego Agyakomaa	Oduro		
Gyareago m. Yobohene Amoako	Korama Adwoa Ayewa Adwoa Gyankorama	Agyekum Aduware Boakye Panyin Boakye Kuma Boakye Mensa		
Korama m. Owusu Dawuru	Takyiwa	Ofori Panyin Adu Gyamfi Ofori Kuma or Safori or Ofori Kae		Ofori Panyin occupied the Abuakwa stool d.[3] *c.* 1727. Ofori Kuma is believed to have been the founder of Akyem Akuropon from where he and his people migrated to the Akuapem hills *c.* 1730.

1 The Ohemmea or the queen-mother in the Akan system is invariably the mother or the mother's sister or a near relative of the female line of the occupant of the stool.

2 m. means married.

3 d. means died.

OHEMMEA	ISSUE *Female*	*Male*	OKUAPEMHENE	REMARKS
Gyankoramaa m. Amanin of Banso	Aturukuo Aso Tema			*Akuapem Dynasty* Aso Tema and her cousin Ofori Kuma were believed to have been deputed by Ofori Panyin to aid the Guan communities in the hills against the Akwamu. Thereafter they founded the dynasty of the Okuapemhene. Gyankorama and her children, Aso Tema and Aturukuo, occupied the Ohemmea stool.
Aso Tema m. Gyekye of Adanse Akrokyere	Ataa Agyapomaa Ataa Agyapomaa			The two Ataa Agyapomaa were twin sisters; the elder died childless.
Ataa Agyapomaa (younger) m. Saakwa of Akwamu Pese	Opokuwa Otwiwa	Fianko Betuafo Sakyiama Tenten	1. Sakyiama Tenten d. 1731 2. Fianko Betuafo (probably d. 1742)	Sakyiama Tenten was the first occupant of the Okuapemhene's stool.
Opokuwa m. Osae Kwabena of Akwamu Pese	Asantewa Panyin	Kwapon Kyerefo	3. Kwapon Kyerefo 1742(?)–1765	Kwapon Kyerefo occupied the heir apparent stool.
Asantewa Panyin m. Asa Awuku of Aburi	Ayaw	Akufo		Akufo occupied the heir apparent stool.
Ayaw m. Asa of Akwamu	Obuobiwa	Obuobi Atiemo	4. Obuobi Atiemo *c.* 1765–1792	Obuobi Atiemo occupied the heir apparent stool.
Obuobiwa m. Asa of Akwamu	Akufobea Adi Samene Oye Mansa Abayare			
Adi Samene m. (a) Ofei Boni of Abiriw (b) Ansa Kwaku of Aburi	(a) Adwoa Asantewa	(b) Awuku Fenenee Ohene Kuma	5. Awuku Fenenee 1792–1802 6. Ohene Kuma d. 1802	Awuku Fenenee occupied the heir apparent stool. Ohene Kuma ruled for three months, probably September to December 1802.

OHEMMEA	ISSUE *Female*	*Male*	OKUAPEMHENE	REMARKS
Akufobea m. (a) Odoi, Akyem of Labadi (b) Aduobe of Akuropon	(a) Oboshi	(a) Kwao Saforo Twe (b) Opoku Amankwaa	7. Kwao Saforo Twe 1802–1816	
Oye Mansa Abayare m. (a) Kwasi Danko of Akwamu (b) Wontumi, Mankrado of Tutu	(b) Aku	(a) Addo Dankwa	8. Addo Dankwa 1816–36	
Aku m. Osae Kwabena of Akuropon		Adum	9. Adum 1836–45	
Oboshi m. Kwabena Sofo of Labadi	Ama Atwei			
Ama Atwei m. ?		Kwadade	10. Kwadade I 1845–66	

APPENDIX III

Political divisions of the Akuapem State

Division	*Town*	*Title of Ruler*
Adonten	Berekuso	Twafohene of Akuapem
	Atweasin	Odekuro
	Ahwerease	Odekuro
	Aburi	Adontenhene of Akuapem
Benkum	Late-Ahenease	Benkumhene
	Late-Kubease	(One time Kyidomhene of Akuapem)
	Mamfe	Ohene
	Mampon	Ohene
	Abotakyi	Odekuro
	Tutu	Odekuro
	Obosomase	Odekuro
Gyaase	Amanokrom	Gyaasehene of Akuapem
Nifa	Adukrom	Nifahene of Akuapem
	Awukugua	Ohene
	Dawu	Ohene
	Abiriw	Ohene
	Apirede	Odekuro
	Abonse	Odekuro
	Aseseeso	Odekuro
Ankobea	Akuropon	Ankobeahene
Kuronti	Akuropon	Kurontihene of Akuapem
Omanhene	Akuropon	Okuapemhene
Kyidom	vacant	

APPENDIX IV

English translation of the Danish version of Isert's treaty with the Okuapemhene (Obuobi Atiemo), 21st December, 1788

Treaty between H.M. the King of Denmark and the Republic of Krobbo on the Gold Coast near River Volta in Guinea, agreed and concluded on the one side by P. E. Isert, Royal Danish Captain of Infantry, and Governor of the African Colony; and on the other side by the Kabusser of Krobbo, and the most distinguished Nobility.

1. His Majesty the King buys from the Republic all Land with its Accessories [*Tilbehør*] which is owned but which is not of use to any of the inhabitants at the present Time.
2. His majesty has the Right [*Lov*] to cultivate such bought Land, make Plantations, and for that matter, treat it as his Possession [*Ejendom*].
3. However, all the Krobbo are to remain undisturbed in their Dwellings [*Vaaninger*] and to keep their occupied Land, and when in case they show Interest [*Lyst*] in establishing themselves on the District belonging to the King, shall such not only be free to stay but also shall completely be considered and treated according to the Laws of the European Colony and as Citizens of this State.
4. Between the two contracting Powers shall eternal Friendship rule [*haerske*], and these agreed Points precisely observed. If the Colony of the other, either the Europeans or the inland Nations should become involved in war [*skulde vorde bekriget*], shall the Republic be in duty bound with all its Manpower [*mandbare Folk*] faithfully assist the Colony and expel the Enemy [*Fienden*]. The Colony on the other hand shall support the Republic as well in the same Manner with a Quantity of Munitions [*Krigsmaterialier*].
5. No European, of whatever nation other than this [Danish] must be permitted to settle in Krobbo's Territory without obtaining previous Consent [*Samtykke*] of the Colony's Royal Government.
6. The Royal Colony has with the Republic an eternal Agreement [*Kartel*], such that when slaves or otherwise of the Colony should run away to the Republic or vice versa, they shall be delivered up without Exception. The Colony shall pay for every returned Slave a Reward [*Disør*] of 2 rdl. The Republic on the other shall retain its [Reward].

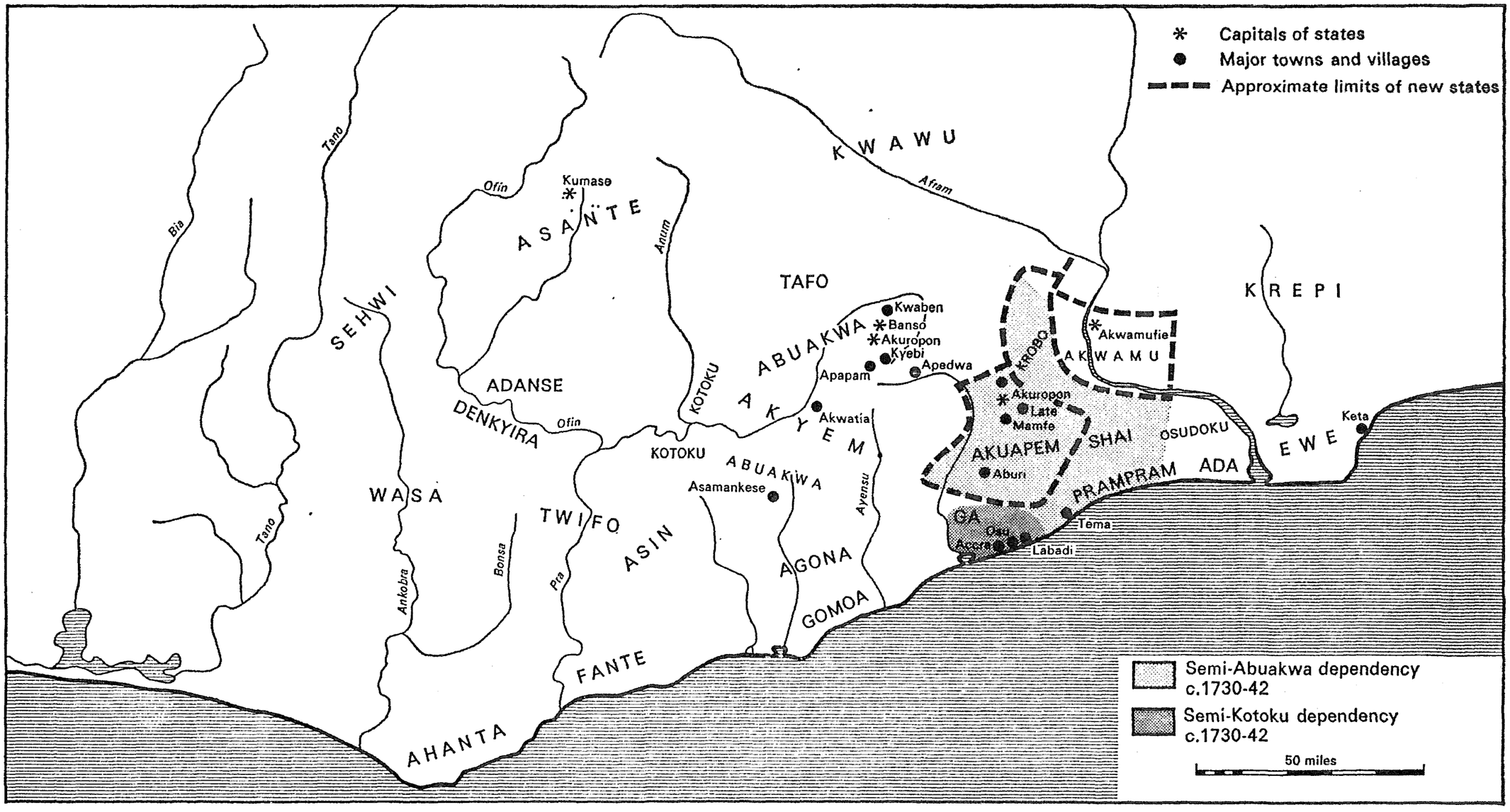
7. The Head of the family [*Huusfader*] who tries to conceal such Fugitives and is found out, pays for twice the Value [*Vaerdie*] of the Fugitive, in addition to the Fugitive's Return [award].
8. If a Criminal [*Misvaeder*] should be found within the Boundary of the Colony for committing Murder or Robbery, and one seizes him, he will, without any Question of whatever Nation he belongs to, be punished according to the Laws of the Colony.
9. Should any of the Inhabitants of the Colony be indebted to someone in the Republic, such [person] shall not have the Right (which otherwise is the Custom of the Land) of Punishment [*Udpantning*] of the Indebted Negroes; but he must leave the Matter with the Government which will enforce the recovery of the Money and satisfy the outstanding Debt [*Tilgodehaveren*].
10. For these Rights of Holding [*Rettigheders Erholdelse*] and eternal Possession [*Overholdelse*] H.M. the King of Denmark shall pay to the Republic of Krobbo, [as] voluntary [*frievilling*] Gifts [*Gave*] ——— in different Wares.
11. If, in the Future there is no lack of Encouragement for Show of Friendliness on the part of the Republic towards the Inhabitants of the Colony, H. Majesty will grant the Kabusser of Krobbo a monthly Gift of 6 rdl. 2 Pieces [*Favne*] Tobacco, of 2 Bottles [*Flasker*] Brandywine, a half Dozen Pipes, and yearly, on their New Year, to all the Grandees or Elders 5 Ankers of Brandywine, 6 Dozen Pipes, 12 Pieces [*Favne*] of Tobacco, 4 Pieces [*Stykker*] of Cotton and also a nice Life-belt [*Livbelte*] for the Kabusser. But there must never take place any Reckoning [*Regning*] on these Gifts before the Month or Year runs out, and the Gift earned.
12. For the strong Certification of the Treaty are three [*ligelydende Stykker*] of both Parties undersigned and sealed.

Thus negotiated

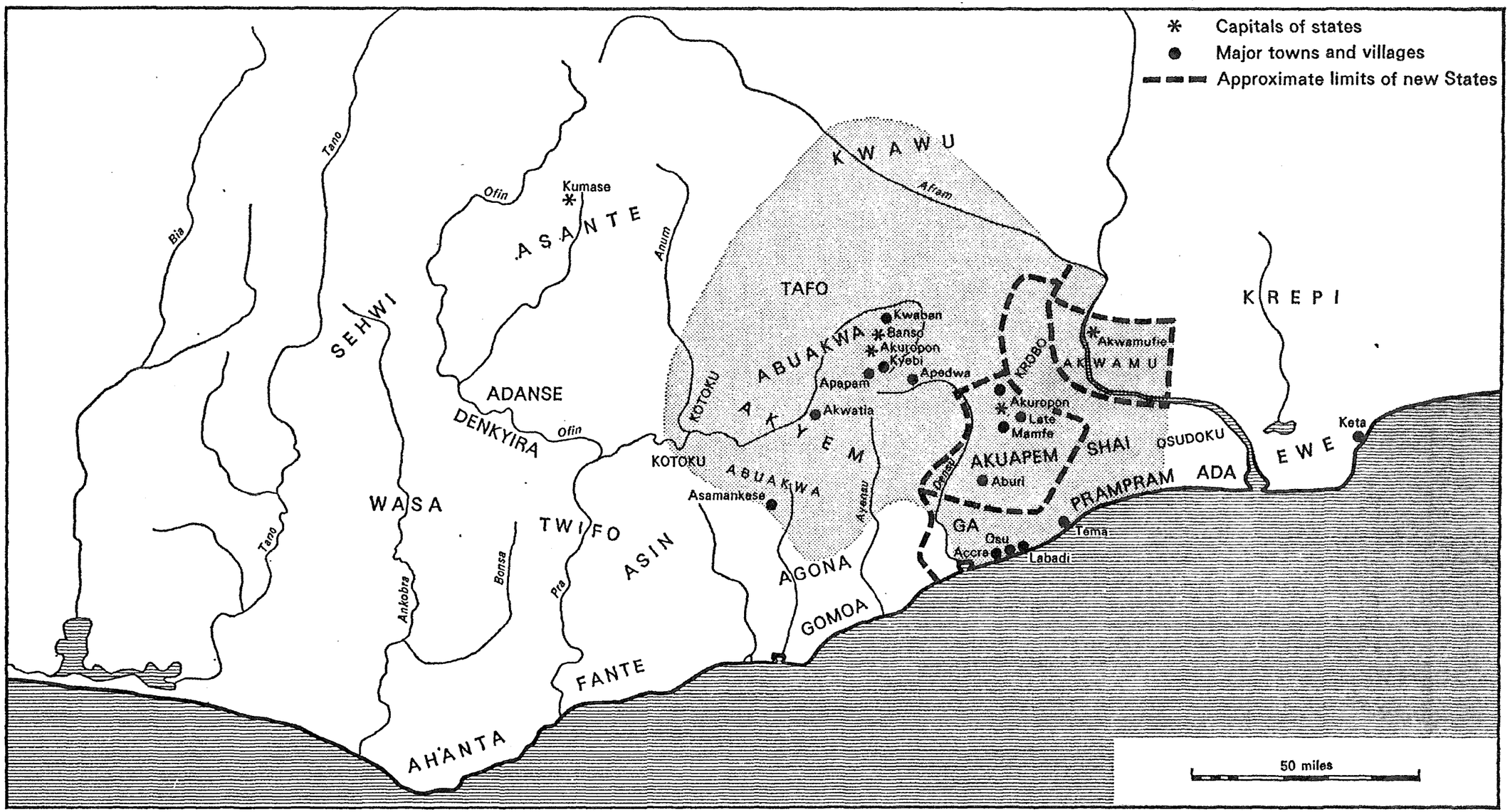
Atiambo's[1] Mark.

P. E. Isert.

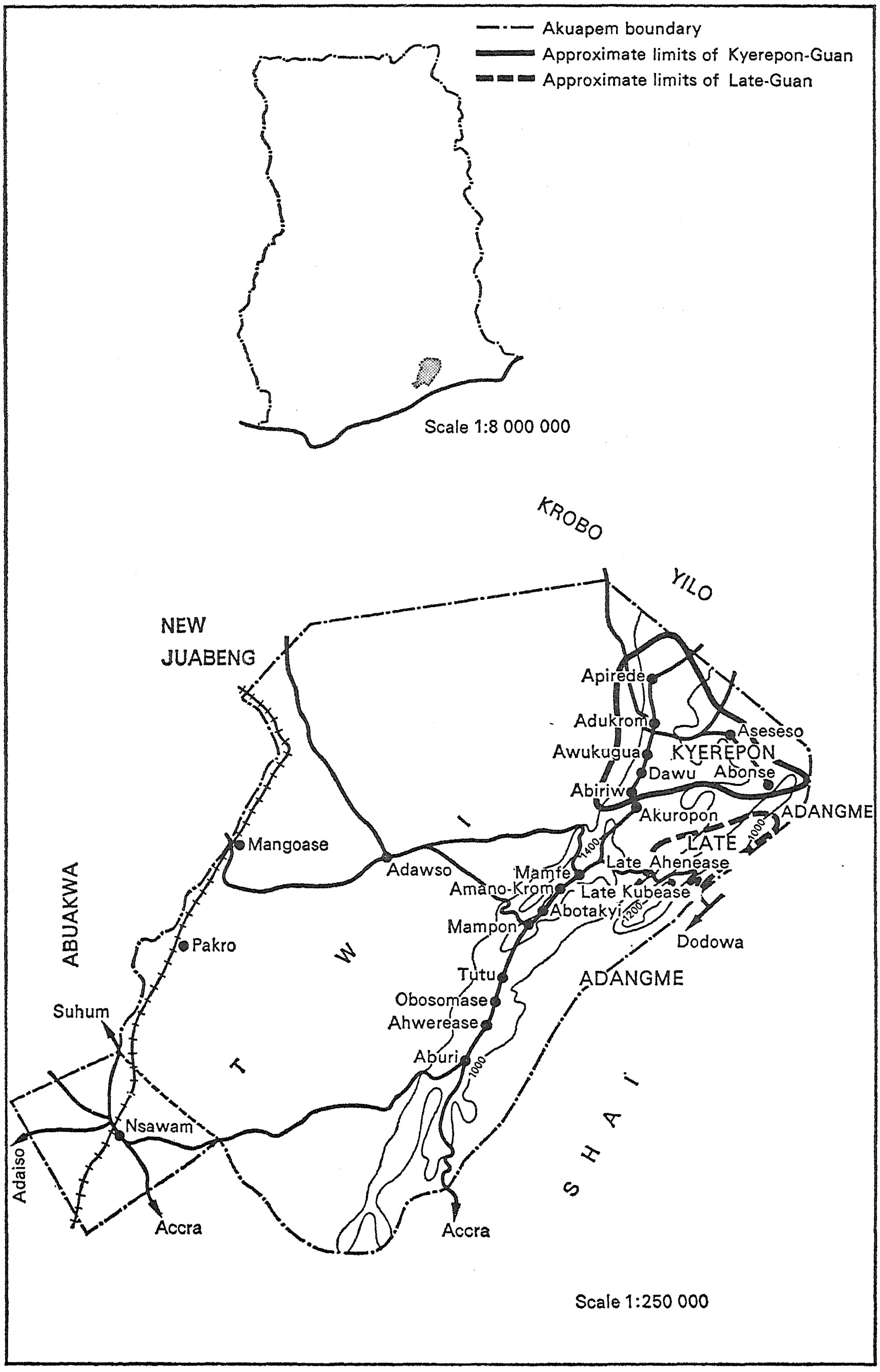
1 This is the actual spelling on the document.



Gold Coast, showing political situation at the fall of Akwamu power in the South-East c. 1730



Gold Coast, showing approximate limits of Asante provincial states in the South-East 1742–1831



Akuapem State at present

A. Contemporary sources

1 ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

State Archives (Rigsarkivet), Copenhagen
Danish documents of the West Indian and Guinea Company (V.G.K.)

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